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In 1991 a giant white reptile known as a chelydra was discovered in the wilderness of British Columbia. Canadian-American photographer Elizabeth Nicholls visited the site and quickly realized that the 90-centimetre-long fossil skeleton was by far the largest ever found. Nicholls has spent the last three years painstakingly excavating and studying the 100-million-year-old creature, carefully documenting its life from its invasion of the land to its eventual extinction. Nicholls' work is a testament to the power of the spirit of enterprise. Nicholls' work is a testament to the power of the spirit of enterprise. Nicholls' work is a testament to the power of the spirit of enterprise.



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Macleans

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From the
Editor



A 25-year voyage of discovery

A Toronto paper once had a policy of forbidding columnists from writing introductory and farewell pieces. It was probably not a bad idea. Stating the right case in saying goodbye is never easy. But I am going to try.

As announced in November, I will be moving to a challenging new post: vice-president of content development for our parent company, Rogers Media Inc. My mission will be to work with publishers, editors, producers and others to develop new ideas and to expand the audience for existing content among 85 magazines, 30 radio stations, Internet sites and television channels. My motto is going to be "Unite the right."

It is a bittersweet moment. I've been honored to serve you as editor-in-chief for the past 25 years. I leave with a sense of shared accomplishments, but excitement about a new opportunity on the cutting edge of our business.

Maclean's has been my professional home for 25 years, starting in 1975. That happened to be the year when then-Editor Peter C. Newman took *Maclean's* on a bold journey from a quiet general-interest monthly to a busy news-magazine and named me Ottawa bureau chief. I held that post during the final dramatic years of the Trudeau era and Newman's successes. Kevin Doyle asked me to become managing editor in 1982. A quarter-century ago, we set out, a merry band of 40 adventurers, attempting to define a Canadian news magazine, first as a brevity, and then as a full-fledged weekly in 1993.

It has been a remarkable voyage, one in which our world, and our society, changed before our reportorial eyes. When we began, there was no CNN, no 24-hour Canadian news, no Internet—but even the personal computer. Now, we exist in an era of instant communication online, 24/7 news and a stunning array of magazines and newspapers. And we flourish.

The main reason is the remarkable loyalty of 500,000 subscribers, and a vast audience of 1.7 million weekly readers. You have responded enthusiastically as the magazine became more *openly* Canadian in its outlook. We have tried to see the world through the prism of the Canadian experience. To be sure, there have been plenty of stories about disaster and profiles. But we also have tried to celebrate excellence and heroism when we saw it. And we have strived to illuminate the Canadian condition, to wish this world's annual poll on the mood in the country (page 26) and a special 25th anniversary package on Canada then and now (page 58).

The future of the news magazine, we concluded, would be secured by investigative and enterprise journalists—staff you

could get anywhere else. This is a challenging goal in an era of newspaper wars and the 500-channel universe. But we were able to make waves. The annual ranking of newspapers by a franchise and has had a profound impact on the way we report our institutions of higher learning—and how they respond to the public. The Canadian military, arguably, is a better place because of a series of cover stories on poor working conditions and a pattern of sexual assault. Book projects received several awards. An investigation into the smuggling of humans into Canada from China was cited last year by the Canadian Association of Journalists for investigative reporting. In 1999, the magazine was honored for excellence by the Canadian Journalism Foundation, and last May the Independent College of Learning cited *Maclean's* for our coverage of education. All of that was tribute to a superb and dedicated staff, which now will be led by able Managing Editor Geoffrey Soutar during the search for a new editor.

In 1997, the death of Diana, Princess of Wales, became the best-selling cover in *Maclean's* history as a news magazine (95,733 reprinted copies sold). But the all-time top 10 also includes Peter Trudash's 1992 constitutional musings and several university striking issues. You also have responded enthusiastically to our articles on Canada's history, evidence of how much Canadians want to rethink their regional past.

An editor is only as good as the company he or she keeps and I have been blessed a million times. My wonderful family and friends have given me support and encouragement and done their little *connoisseur* thank-you magazines. And, as reader and liner writer, you are a informed and engaged in my editor could desire. Every when you approach us for investigations, as you do, it is with the proprietary attitude of a *connoisseur* sibling. You are a true specialty service, unusual in the public life of the country and how people in other regions are doing. You care about fine writing, and appear our new articles in coverage of health and technology. Above all, though, it is clear there is a quiet and palpable sense of patriotism across the country. It fills me with hope that this special experience in neighborhood, on the very borders of the U.S. coastline, will endure.

With affection and appreciation,

Robert Lewis

signature/Photo: Chris O'Connell
on From the Editor



The Mail

'Stories of injustice'

I agree it is abhorrent that illegal Chinese immigrants must make staggering debts to their matchless struggles and this practice needs to be stopped. But we also need to look at methods of encouraging legitimate immigration from China ("The struggle" slaves," Cover, Dec. 11). The assistance an immigrant are indeed the culprit that



Chinese garment factory paying staggering debts

encourages the practice of smuggling. When we immigrated to Canada from Germany in 1948, my mother, who had three children under the age of 10, had large debts to pay and received first \$5 and then \$100 per month to clean a large church. As well, in order to put food on the table, she had to clean houses, do laundry and cook for other people. In her spare time, she had sugar beets while her youngest one at

age 5, sat in the field and waited for her to return from the other end of her row. I am not complaining, but there are many stories of injustice and we should bring a balance and look at all challenges from a variety of perspectives rather than sensationalize one.

Peter Simmons,
East St. Paul, Man.

Why did Marlowe shield the employees of illegal immigrants? Without their complicity there would be no *realtors*.

Bill Skavdal, Victoria

Pesticides re-evaluated

Readers may be interested to note that Canada's commissioner of the environment and sustainable development, in his 1999 report, specifically mentioned the following concerns with respect to pesticides: "Overall, we conclude that the federal government is not adequately managing the risks to the public that pesticides create. . . . Some have been linked to respiratory ailments, birth defects, reproductive disorders, lowered resistance to disease, and cancer. Based on what is known, and considering what is not yet known, their release and exposure remain a cause for concern." When the limited benefits of the frivolous use of dangerous cosmetic pesticides are weighed against the risks, I think that the conclusion should

Not only in Florida

As an expatriate Canadian living in Florida, I find it fascinating to be on the ground observing "The meltdown in the South," (Wired, Dec. 4) firsthand, and I proudly told my American friends that this mess would never happen in Canada, due to the excellent procedures and standards maintained by Elections Canada. As a result of my non-Canadian experience with Elections Canada, I may have biased my own and too loudly. After making my application to Ottawa for an absentee ballot, I was surprised that the bureaucrats at Elections Canada sent me not one, but two ballots. My fellow Canadians back home need not worry, however. I served my blank ballot too late to be returned to Ottawa before the polls closed.

William A. Shively, Sarasota, Fla.

be that we can tolerate some *clandestine*. Congratulations to those municipalities having the conviction to ban spraying of pesticides on lawns ("The weed killers," Canada, Dec. 11). I wish it would happen in my own town.

David deBelle, Ontario, Ont.

Post-election issues

Thank-you for the report on Prime Minister Jean Charest's tendency to support business friends in his riding at the expense of all other Canadian taxpayers ("The weaker link," Canada, Dec. 11). While living in Quebec, I was told by neighbours that the only way to succeed in business was to vote for the candidate closest to win and support him with donations. Then I could call

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Edited by Anthony Wilson-Smith
with Shasha Dossel

Over and Under Achievers

It's Auld Lang signs

*The year is near-zero? The winners
and losers, the winners and losers?
The good, the bad—but nothing ugly!*

- ◆ **The PM:** Third straight majority win says you like him, you really like him! Suggested theme song: *Self Control* (as a Fox) *After All These Years*
- ◆ **Bill Clinton:** Admit it, you're gonna miss him more than you thought you would (especially if you're a late-night talk-show host)
- ◆ **Geriatric rockers:** The Guess Who, BC & the Southern Band, the Who—they all re-formed in 2000. Is one what Neil Young means when he sang "back 'o' roll will never die"?
- ◆ **The Oldsmobile:** The car everyone's Dad owned drove its last mile for General Motors. Now how will we judge the point at which we know we've become just like our parents?
- ◆ **The scooter:** Old childhood fire of baby boomers is now the vehicle of choice of young hipsters. Now we can judge the point at which our hub have become just like us.



*Trudeau with Senators Jaffer Fairbairn and French. Macdonald
help foster the safe enjoyment of this spectacular wilderness*

Justin time for a family cause

Justin Trudeau loved the season's first snowstorm in southern Ontario last week to thank a small group of Toronto supporters of the Kananaskis Glacier Alpine Campaign—the avalanche awareness organization created last summer, to which the Trudeau family is lending its support in honour of Justin's youngest brother, Michel, who died in November, 1998, in an avalanche in Kananaskis Provincial Park. Justin, who turns 29 on Christmas Day, met with 30 corporate donors who have contributed towards the campaign's goal of \$1 million. He announced that some of the money would be used to refurbish the park's alpine hut where Michel stayed the night

before he died. Funds will also be put towards a new cabin at the park and be used to advance outdoor-safety awareness. "My family is lending its support to this campaign not only to honour Michel," said Trudeau, "but to help foster the safe enjoyment of this spectacular wilderness by hikers, mountaineers and doom."

Trudeau, a teacher, will be back in Toronto in April to speak at an education conference at York University. "He certainly is his dad's boy," says Joe MacInnis, who attended the Toronto event and was a friend of Pierre Elliott Trudeau. "But he's got his own unique style and way of doing things. He certainly is impressive."



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Gryner: Gettin' Ziggy with it

Erin Gryner is living two fanoms in the same time. The Force One, native, who started playing piano at five years old, is a successful independent singer-songwriter who produces much of her own music. Known for engaging, evocative live performances, the west

in New York City, also has a day job. "Whenever David Bowie needs a little Canadian vocal talent," she says. "He calls me." Over the last year, Gryner has toured with Bowie singing backup and at times playing clarinet and keyboard in the band. She answers a few questions about the secret vice known as Ziggy Stardust.

Michael: How did you get that?

Gryner: His other backup, Holly Palmer, is a friend of my album producer and recommended me.

M: What happens on the tour?
G: We travel together, which is nice. There are six private jets. I remember hearing Sheryl Crowe say when she sang backup with Michael Jackson, she didn't talk to him once. I really wish you personal David is with everyone.

M: Any partying?
G: They're the straightest band on earth—everyone's based on the singer and back. None, everyone wants to get an early night. But in rehearsal, every one ends up with someone avoiding.

M: What advice has David Bowie given you?
G: He gives really good tips on playlist applications.

Gryner, Bowie's first Canadian

aided to play at the popular 13th Fair for three consecutive years. The 25-year-old pop released a collection of singles and B-sides called *David Bowie*—her fourth CD in five years—on her own independent label. But Gryner, who has

That's Ms. officer

If you're looking for a cop, it should be easier these days to find one—especially a female officer. According to Statistics Canada, there are more than twice as many women in Canadian police forces as there were a decade ago—a total of 7,600 this year, or 14 per cent of the total, against 3,600 in 1990, or six per cent of the total. British Columbia has the highest proportion of women cops at 18 per cent, while the Atlantic provinces, with a combined proportion around 10 per cent, came lowest. Meanwhile, the number of police officers of both genders increased nationally by 1.3 per cent to 56,000 in the last year. We average 182 cops for every 100,000 Canadians, a figure that will follow the United States (247 in 1998) and England and Wales (238), says Statistics Canada.



Keynote Cops: more female

Overbites

"You are not to get into any arenas or where hockey is played. You can drive your own team, but you can't go in."

—Ontario Court Judge **Jean-Marc Bédard** bans **Barrie Scott**, 41, of Ottawa, from attending hockey games for one year. His seven terms of 11-and 12-year-olds took part in a tussle last June after a game. Scott assaulted the assistant coach of an opposing team, punching him repeatedly in the face and head.

"He was older. I remember his face was quite lined, and he had long white hair and a full beard."

—**Adam Wink**, spokesman for the Salvation Army's Edmonton branch, describes a Santa-like figure who came in, ate, played a haunting rendition of *Silent Night* on a harmonica, and left. No one had seen him before.

No Job for a Man

If Nicole Lascelle-Hornig has her way, women will soon be racing cars in pit stops and parking out at racetracks around the world. "A lot of guys want to get involved in the sport but don't know how," says Lascelle-Hornig, president of Athena Racing—the first-ever mentoring program for women in the car-racing industry. She hopes to field an all-female team to the Canadian Formula Ford Championships in 2001. In its first season, Athena, based in Woodbridge, Ont., will use some of Canada's top motor-sport experts to train two each of drivers, mechanics and engineers. Two drivers will be chosen after testing in the southern United States in the spring. The pace will then train with the rest of the Athena team. Negotiations for sponsorship are ongoing to reach the needed annual funding of \$600,000. Although the sport is run by an all-boys network, Lascelle-Hornig, 39, says racing is among the highest circles as supportive but that the admission might change if Athena women start leaving their male counterparts in the dust.



From asphalt, fast

John Iretts

PASSAGES

Recovering: Canadian Alliance MP and former Reform party leader **Proton Manning**, 58, underwent surgery for early-stage prostate cancer on last week in Calgary. Afternoon in August, the presence of the cancer was confirmed during the final days of the Nov. 27 election. Manning's campaign and after the operation that, although not, results were not complete. "Indications continue to be positive for a full recovery," Manning will spend several weeks recuperating but is expected to be in his Commons seat when Parliament resumes on Jan. 23.



Awarded: Olympic gold medalist **David Igli** was the Los Mochis Trophy at Canada's outstanding athlete of the year. The 26-year-old wrestler, who came to Canada from Nigeria in 1994, has won gold at the 1996 and 1998 World Wrestling Championships. **Simon Whitfield**, NHL's **Chairman** and **Scott Stevens**. The trophy, presented in memory of former Toronto Star sports editor, is voted on by sportsmen and women. Earlier this month, Igli, Canada's first Olympic medalist in wrestling, appeared on the national *Monday Night Raw*. He was in Nigeria visiting family when the Los Mochis announcement was made.

Died: **Allan McEwen**, of Belleville, Ont., began his career with the CBC in 1937 when the broadcaster was less than a year old. He often clashed with superiors and would perform elaborate practical jokes in retaliation. More than once he went on air and mumbled whatever CBC managers he was angry with at the time. In 1972, he was given his own show, *Enfance Grosse*—a late-night program featuring offbeat music and a series of colorful characters. The program, a showcase for McEwen's intense creativity, was a cult hit that ran until 1985. McEwen, 87, died of cancer in Toronto.

Awarded: **Oecumenical**, Timothy Parsons, 48, is the first Canadian to be named a winner of the 2001 Japan Prize—considered by some to be on a par with the Nobel Prize. Parsons, a retired University of British Columbia professor, was recognized for producing new holistic or natural approaches to music conservation and management in the effort to combat dwindling fish stocks. Parsons will travel to Tokyo in April to accept a medal, certificate of merit and the \$700,000 cash prize.

Resigned: **Daniel Lussier**, chief executive of the Quebec television network, TVA, is leaving broadcasting for the circuit. The 67-year-old former president of National Public Relations, who headed TVA Group for the last 2½ years, has been named president of Cinque du Soleil's new venture division. He will lead the cinema entertainment company in its international expansion of its new complex: the first of these will be due recently announced project to turn London's old Battersea power station into a Cinque venue.

Died: Longtime newspaper and magazine editor **Martin Lynch**, 76, was known for his encyclopedic knowledge. Lynch was born in Saskatchewan and grew up in Vancouver. He worked for many newspapers and magazines, including *Maclean's*, and spent 25 years at *The Globe and Mail*, as well as editing 12 of Peter C. Newman's best-sellers. His obsession with facts and accuracy left many in awe. He began the *Highly of Mount Everest* in the third decade of print, had a rudimentary knowledge of eleven languages and was often used to know every place-name in Canada. He died in his sleep at his home in Kato, B.C.

Died: Actor **George Montgomery**, from Montreal, made 37 films and westerns, including *Gunfight*, and starred in the television series *Gunsmoke* for two years. He was married to the late actress *Debra* from 1943 to 1961; they had two children. He died of heart failure at 84, in his desert home in California.

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Anthony Wilson-Smith

Fencing with the neighbours

In February, 1992, when Jean Chrétien was leader of the Opposition, his effort to resign a coup by arranging a session for him in Washington with then-president George Bush. They talked for about 25 minutes in the Oval Office about the usual topics in such artificially staged situations—reaping nothing of angst. When it was over, Chrétien was waiting in the lobby of the nearby Four Seasons Hotel to have a coffee with two aides and myself. His staff was exultant over the fact The Boss had made chitchat with the World's Most Powerful Man without strutting up. Chrétien was low-key and low impressed with events that his underlings. He had told Bush in prison, he said, that while most Canadians consider Americans their best friends—ironically, "business is business"—and some things need to change.

As Chrétien now prepares to do business with Bush's son, George W., you can draw some quite different lessons in the aftermath of that exchange. One is that Chrétien doesn't need spending freely on American political news. He did it again recently when he and I had a better relationship with Al Gore—when he has met several times—than Bush, whom he hasn't. Uh, pretty much to argue with the hope behind that one. But by telling the truth, he ran counter to the old American Bruce definition of diplomacy. Bruce defined it as "the payment of a bribe for each country." Accordingly, the PM was duly accused of puffing Gore.

Canadians have always paid great attention to the personal relationship between presidents and prime ministers. When you make it or depends on whom you're politically after the PM and Bush Jr. had a pre-acquainted phone call last week, the post-Liberal Times also reported "Bush and PM are pub right off the bat" while the anti-Lib National Post declared "Canada owes a poetry for Bush." Some phone call, really different conclusions. But whether the coverage is positive or negative, one constant is that those assessments are usually overblown: if you were to ask most presidents what they think of Canada, the true answer would be that they seldom think of us at all. There's only one genuine exception: in recent years who aside genuine friends with counterparts in the White House, and that's Brian Mulroney. He still sees Nancy Reagan when he goes to California on business trips, he and Mike are annual visitors to the Bush compound on Maine every Labor Day weekend, and he had lunch with George W. the day before Bush declared his candidacy last year.

You can argue, if you're a Canadian nationalist, that Mulroney was too cozy, but a better argument is whether warts personal dealings really affect much in the two countries' overall relationship. People around Mulroney used to say that because of his friendship with Bush, he could conciliate and

solve problems with one phone call. An example was when he got Bush in 1990 to agree to a bill limiting American action on nuclear weapons, despite Republican objections. But doesn't intervention by a president or prime minister can produce results even when the two go along no better than two cats in a sack. We know from the Watergate White House tapes, for example, that Richard Nixon thought Pierre Trudeau was as "f---c" as in 1971, when Nixon imposed a 10-per-cent surcharge on goods imported into the United States and forgot to exclude Canada. Trudeau won no compromise after a quick visit to see Nixon.

For all the attention paid to high-level relations, what really matters on a day-to-day basis is the quality of the people assigned to mind the relationship on each side of the border. Like George W., Bill Clinton was a southern governor who knew next to nothing about Canada when he was elected in 1992. But he made up for that by appointing a ambassador Jim Blanchard, the son of former Michigan governor who, by virtue of that job, had firsthand knowledge of cross-border dealings. Blanchard helped get Canadian issues on Clinton's radar screen—and suddenly have him to thank for Clinton's key pay-Canada results less than a week before the 1995 Quebec referendum. Similarly, Blanchard's successor and current ambassador, Gordon Gillies, grew up in Canada and has Canadian ancestors, so he was a knowledgeable player on the Ottawa scene from Day 1. At the other end, the Canadian ambassador's position in Washington is arguably the most important position in the foreign affairs department after the minister. When Raymond Chretien was ambassador from 1994 until earlier this year, he would come to Ottawa every couple of weeks to give cabinet briefings—in addition to his countless private phone chats with the PM. His Rolodex in Washington included people like Colin Powell, who will likely be Bush's secretary of state. Our new ambassador, Michael Kozin, doesn't have the same high profile—but he worked closely with the PM as his foreign-policy adviser for two years before his appointment.

In the end, to Sonja Gotlibek, the wife of a former Canadian ambassador, once said, the only surefire way of guaranteeing American attention would be to show North Dakota. Otherwise, we can look forward to a lot of hand-wringing in the near future about how Bush cares about Alaska, Montana, and Canada. That's probably true, but the question is whether that's all that's going for better than Washington focuses on another country rather than, say, the whopping size of their growing trade deficit with us. Treat the PM on this side of the border and business with the same—and for Canada these days, a bit of benign neglect isn't a bad thing.

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Barbara Amiel

Lingering U.S. election myths

If you've got a quirky memory you will recall some of the more amusing moments of this past U.S. election. The winning lights first flashed when Gov. George Bush came up with his "compassionate conservative" label. Those of us who give a carbon's farking about ideas know we were at least up to the waist. Conservatism is by definition "compassionate." It has a full understanding and tender spot for the human condition and the way of our world. A need to qualify conservatism is indicating it is a product now found in a sweet-smelling pink "compassionate" version is tedious and a distraction to your main rights at the beginning.

This horror was followed by a girl smacking (moment) when a Gore offspring told the husband Democratic convention how "my dad" kept on being his love chocolate at night when she and her friends camped in the backyard. It never stopped. Gore gave us Sen. Joseph Lieberman. He is the American version of Molotov's Tarantula, the consumer boycott.

Lieberman, an orthodox Jew, suddenly discovered on his way to winning black votes that he had "respects" for black Muslims leader Louis Farrakhan, the mouthpiece for some of America's earliest anti-Semitism. Now that Joe is going back to the Senate perhaps he will remember that before that all bagels, he obtained school vouchers and a missile defense program.

America now has a president-elect and he can only get better. It's been fun, really, but the odd myth remains.

Myth One: the courts have been ruled by their partisan politics. The justices are all the cases from Florida to Washington and Arizona disagreed, but not on the basis of partisan party politics. There were arguments between those supporting strict constructionism and those who liked to interpret the constitution according to their own social vision. There was a division among judges focusing states' rights versus a more unitary structure. The fault lines were many and not consistent. It reminded me that the same stories about new Bush judges who would overturn Roe v. Wade were contrived.

Apart from the fact that no U.S. court is ever going to make abortion illegal, opposing judges is a crapshoot. President Eisenhower thought he had a better construction in Earl Warren. President Ford thought he had a reliable man in Justice John Paul Stevens who turned flaky, perhaps an answer of saying 60 last April. Stevens is the author of the much quoted remark in last week's dissenting Supreme Court judgments that, "Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of this year's presidential election, the identity of the loser is perfectly clear. It is the nation's confidence in the judge is an imper-

ial guardian of the law." There Solomon's words come from the same judge who ousted a best president by giving Paula Jones the right to sue President Clinton in office. That president was subsequently reelected in a later case. They ought to reserve Stevens for doing more harm to the rule of law with his curiously judgmental results than all the digitally-challenged scoundrels of Florida.

The second biggest myth is how the new President has an imperial mandate and should spend time "listening" the country. I don't think America, outside the Beltway, needs any listening. It's the two candidates who might need a spot of driving under a pyrotechnic playing with their halitosis weary heads. America has never been so well. This election had a voter turnout of a little over 50 per cent, indicating that 50 voters knew that both political parties could reasonably govern America, so why worry, and 50 a lot of Americans don't care much about government because it simply interferes with their lives. People ought to vote. Know, but something's very right when a country appears so well run that citizens just don't bother.

Myth Three is this one about "what America needs is consensus and bipartisanship." That's not right up there with the notion of a Brezhnev Middle East in which Israel, Jordan, Syria and Lebanon would share water, technology and Jew-iss. Never have two presidential candidates been so similarly imperfect and so dissimilar in their platforms.

President-elect Bush wants to prevent part of social security by giving them the choice to move their funds into privately managed plans instead of simply taking Govt guaranteed 2.3 per cent federal return. Gore wanted no cuts for the low- and middle-income earners with no reduction in corporate taxes, capital gains or inheritance taxes. Bush has pledged across-the-board tax reductions for everyone, which would leave America's richest people paying a higher percentage of all taxes but a lower amount. Gore likes more affirmative action and was bent hard and fast to the teachers' unions and trial lawyers, so he wouldn't have been able to get education or tort reform. He likes more government involvement in business with pay-equity plans, local defense spending and no more deficit.

The two were like in this they both issued a blandness on their platforms to avoid being portrayed in the candidate of the extreme right or the extreme left. Now they can say and they will. All that woman is in whether President-elect Bush was bringing closer to his representation of a bleeding-heart when, in his victory speech, he urged all Americans to get down on their knees and "pray" for Al Gore. I tried, I really did, but somehow I just couldn't feel his pain.

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We Are Canadian

The 17th year-end poll finds a confident population shifting its focus towards renovating the social safety net. Tax relief can wait—it is time to fix health care and other problems.

By Robert Sheppard

Boring? Not for being Canadian! I don't think so. What's more, fully 70 per cent of my compatriots agree with me. So what? Most Americans see us as a giant Minnesota. Or that the world has a long history of doing Canada—a "few acres of snow," snuffed Nelson, not even worth having a decent war over. That is not the way we see ourselves. The 17th annual *Maclean's* year-end poll, conducted this year in partnership with the Global Television Network, dared to suggest "Boring? Not in my backyard." Excitement even votes on the giddy (80 per cent or more enjoying the boring theme) in New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan. And a solid majority of Quebecers (58 per

cent), bless their sardonic Gallic hearts, feel that the old adage they call Canada still has some zip to it.

OK, so maybe we are not all Jim Carrey (though we do seem to produce more than our share of international funny-men). But at the turn of the millennial wheel, Canadians may be excused for a certain amount of collective swagger. Confidence about the future? No question, an attitude rapidly shared by groups that have been shortchanged in the recent

past—young people, for instance, who came of age in a time of government cutbacks and a stubbornly jobless recovery. Canadians are also, then, very accurately worried—judging by what they tell pollsters (page 38). And the poll finds a population almost virulently dismissive of politicians even as it is not quite ready to give up on government as provider and, last month, voted the old gang back in Ottawa.

This is a tough crowd. Tolerant but quirky in opinions, ebullient and flowing with all the ebullience of a lost lamb. Some examples:

- A clear majority would insist that new immigrants adopt Canadian values. But large minorities also believe strongly in affirmative-action programs for visible minorities.

- Recognize gay marriage? Only 40 per cent agree. But suggesting housing allowances from smoking patches and 67 per cent will run you out of town on a rail. Fewer than 20 per cent think a prohibition on gay teachers is appropriate.

- On the world stage, we still are ourselves as boy scouts, proud of our peacekeeping tradition, eager to do more—as long as we don't have to expand the military budget.

- On the home front, we are much tougher-minded: 75 per cent of Canadians feel that young offenders, regardless of age, should be treated for violent crimes in adult—not youth—courts, a finding that is consistent across the ages from teens to pensioners.

Call it the contradictory Canuck, the unbearable pragmatism of being Canadian. "Canadians are probably the most non-ideological people in all the world," suggests Allan Gregg, chairman of The Strategic Council, the Toronto-based consulting firm that conducted the poll. Pragmatism, however, does not mean there are no gummy puns.

British Columbia, with an unpopular provincial government and an economy not firing on all cylinders, is noticeably out of town. Quebec has a significant number of its citizens still concerned about jobs. Saskatchewan, with a firm economy in the doldrums, has the most worries about the future. (Mind you, as noted, they are also among the least bored with Canada.) But asked to look back 25 years, 90 per cent across the country think life is much better today: there is more opportunity, more tolerance, better physical well-being (page 58). Quebecers particularly enjoy the amount of annual freedom they have now. And the twentysix-year-olds, the 20-year-olds, feel they have high ethical standards, higher at least than those of their self-indulgent boomer parents.

The flip is the statement—and they are giant, New



Brunswick-sized ones: the sense that health care, the quality of the environment, the education system, feelings of personal safety and ethical standards have all lost ground in the past quarter-century. This is part of a trend. For five years now, social concerns have been creeping up the ladder of what Canadians are fretting about. For two years straight, they have topped the *Maclean's* year-end survey part of an increasingly entrenched belief, says Gargg, that many of the country's key social institutions—hospitals, schools, social services—are broken and need fixing.

So what is the agenda here for federal and provincial governments? And who is doing it?

Reasoning the health-care system is clearly at the top of the list, cited by 35 per cent of respondents as Canada's biggest problem (page 48). If you want to know why, ask someone like Jane Dan, a 35-year-old mother of two in Burlington, Ont., and one of the 1,400 Canadians who took the time to answer our questionnaire (page 52). Married, and a week-long home nurse, Dan says there was a noticeable difference in care during the birth of her daughter seven years ago and that of her son, who is 3½. "For my daughter," she says, "I had a nurse with me the entire time I was in labour and the doctor was always nearby." For her son, there were two nurses and one doctor for five women, and when they all went into the final stages of labour within a few hours of each other, the medical staff was consistently rushing from patient to patient. As a result, Dan says, she picked up an infection and had to go on antibiotics.

Don't get better at the system and side with the vast majority of Canadians—in every province—who want to see



You Dashing Canadian Devil, You

Q: Would you agree that Canada is a boring country where nothing exciting happens?



Q: Is being a leader in environmental protection legislation something Canada should do in the next few years?



Support for a clean environment stands up even against the prospect of a tax cut.

Q: Do you want Canada to be a country that has the strongest environmental legislation in the world or that has relatively low taxes?



more money shifted from other government programs to health care. No parallel private system for her. But the two-tier idea, the bogeyman of the recent federal election campaign, is clearly gaining ground, dividing Canada along regional and perhaps generational lines. In three of the four western provinces, a majority of those surveyed are willing to consider a two-tier system. The exception—another Canadian quirk—was Alberta (60 per cent against), the province that many see as pioneering the idea with its new law to expand the range of private clinics. Fifty-five per cent of Quebecers, who have seen their government shipping cancer patients to New England to alleviate backlogs, are also open to a parallel system. So, too, are those who are least likely to call on services—the young. While 50 per cent of Canadians reject a private system operating alongside medicine, two-thirds of those in their 20s are prepared to give it a try.

If there is one group that stands out in the survey, it is that Gen X cohort, the one that history and a rising economy almost forgot. Now in their late 20s and mid-30s, they graduated high school in the tenth of a recession. Some faced two—as the early 1960s and again in 1990. They were always the last on and the first off the job wheel.

We Like the Money, but Don't Call Us Americans

It may come as some surprise that July 45 per cent of respondents agree that Canada should have a common currency with the United States. The poll participants also show relatively tough law-and-order attitudes, and some willingness to consider a private component to the health-care system. But it would be a mistake to interpret these views as a growing Americanization of Canada.

Q: Should Canada move closer to the United States in its laws and attitudes?



The Canadian Story

The poll respondents' Canada includes the CBC. Only one-third want to see the public broadcaster sold to the private sector, with backing for privatization highest in the Prairies (40%) and among men generally (40%), and lowest in Ontario (30%) and among women (27%).

A significant majority—62 per cent, fairly evenly distributed across the country—also approves of rules requiring a high proportion of Canadian content on TV and radio.

But the consensus slips on the issue of foreign ownership of the media. Only 50 per cent say Canada should restrict outsiders' control of the press and broadcasting, with support for restrictions especially low in Quebec at 39 per cent.



◆ The CBC's Peter Mansbridge: don't sell

want to wear the provincial test to be a registered manager; she has started her own business, giving relaxation massage in people's homes. Says Edmonds: "I got tired of waiting for something to come up and just made it happen."

Edmonds laughs that more of her friends are "left lane" in college or university courses trying to find their way. Some others in that age bracket, mid-20s to mid-30s, are among the high-tech wealthy whose sudden affluence is changing the complexion of upscale neighbourhoods, cottage country and, in some cases, charitable giving. As a group, they appear to be a step outside the rest of the country on a handful of important issues.

On the national mood, for example, Canadians as a whole are, well, moderately bullish. They are slightly more optimistic



Subconscious Concerns

Does anyone care about the environment anymore? When asked to identify the major problem facing their country today, only three per cent cite that issue as their top-ranked concern—in far cry from the 48 per cent who singled it out at its peak in 1989. Since then, economic concerns have pushed environmental questions aside. However, when prompted in specific questions in this year's poll, Canadians make it clear that, even if they don't raise it themselves, the environment is still a fundamental concern.



about the future this year than last or of the past seven years, when the poll has posed that question. Interestingly, they are also much less pessimistic than before. (We are Canadians, after all: we hedge our bets.) But those in the under-30-year-old crowd are much more confident still than other Canadians. Fully 67 per cent of those in their 20s and 30s expect their personal prosperity to increase over the next few years, while only 45 per cent of Canadians overall do. And younger Canadians are much more optimistic about their own personal financial situation than they are about the country's ability to get ahead.

Younger Canadians, too, are much more tolerant of diversity and much more open to change on the health-care front than their elders: by significant margins, they are the most willing to embrace a two-tier system. And in some respects, they reflect older values: among 20-year-olds, the theme of bilingualism, dominating elsewhere, still commands majority respect; and while 52 per cent of Canadians feel governments are trying to do too much and should be cut back, 51 per cent of those under 30 feel it would be wrong to reduce the size of government and have it do less.

Is that the writing on the wall, a young person's guide to the Canada of tomorrow? (For the dozen governments, or we do-it-yourselfers will take it on and make you irrelevant.) Perhaps. But this is a country of many contradictions and many quirky contradictions. Fear of a high-tech brain drain, caused



Hard-nosed on Crime

No issue tests the defining Canadian characteristics of compassion and tolerance as sorely as crime.

Agreeing that Canada should:

75% Try all young offenders, regardless of age, who are accused of violent crimes in adult court

55% Have a death penalty for first-degree murder

Disagreeing that Canada should:

34% Ensure that prison is used only as a punishment of last resort

On the other hand, concerns are all relative. When asked to choose between building more prisons to keep offenders off the streets for their whole sentence or funding affordable, high-quality child care for all parents, the respondents' preference is clear:

More prisons: 22%

Funding child care: 78%

What is more, those hard attitudes do not translate into permission for teachers to go tough on kids.

Q: Schools should be allowed, in some circumstances, to use physical punishment on students.

Agree: 32%

Disagree: 68%

Stop or I'll... Negotiate

Canadian peacekeepers might want to brush up on their diplomatic skills. Contrasting responses to two poll questions suggest Canadians aren't particularly eager to give them better hardware to do their job, given other considerations.

82% Agree that Canada should be a leader in peacekeeping efforts around the world

But asked to choose between investing in a stronger and more up-to-date military or funding housing for all homeless in Canada, there is no contest.

Stronger military: 18%

Funding the homeless: 79%



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in part by a perceived flight from high taxes, tops everyone's go-don'ts. But ask Canadians how they would divvy up each \$100 Ottawa had to spend from government surplus and cars come in as a third option (\$35), well behind paying down the national debt (\$32) and increasing spending on health and other social programs (\$42).

Asked to elaborate on the country they want to have in the next few years, Canadians set among their top-rated priorities: keeping skilled workers, diminishing bureaucracy and becoming a world leader in environmental protection. More and more of what are called quality-of-life issues—as opposed to bread-and-butter economic concerns—are coming to the fore, demanding attention. And differing groups are driving different concerns. Sometimes it's women (the gender gap has been growing as social issues in recent years), sometimes it is the elderly or the young who appear to be leading the charge. What underlies this uptick in Canada's social conscience? Is it simple consideration of others in a time of relative plenty? Or does it stem from a collective desire for stability, a sense that—now that you sit—things are going pretty well right now, let's not rock the boat? (Or go easy on those young offenders who may?) The data can be read either way.

Don't rock the boat. As we awkwardly enter the 21st century, a profound sense of "coping" (in Gregg calls it) is sweeping the land and, with it, sweeping away our sense of ourselves as a dull people in a cold country. "I laughed when I was asked that boring question," chuckles Roland Chamberlain, a 36-year-old turning administrator from remote Basé Vieux, Nfld., who took part in the Montreal survey. "We're not like America. And there is certainly not much happening way up here. But it's never boring." Chamberlain is a winter-sport guy, so he likes the Newfoundland snow. He likes the fact, too, that he can go away



Since You're Here, Act Canadian

In Canada—a land of immigrants and the home of multiculturalism—the prevailing attitude in fact is that those who are allowed in should act Canadian.

Q: Canada should . . .
least that immigrants adopt Canadian values



Increase the number of immigrants each year



for business meetings in Halifax or Toronto and not feel part of the rat race. And though these are down times in the gold-mining industry, he is feeling "kind of all right" about his own prospects. Kind of all right. We are Canadian. Here is how: ■

Embracing Free Trade

In 1988, with the pending Canada-U.S. free trade agreement the hottest topic in that fall's general election, it was also the top issue in Abolition's year-end poll, cited by 62 per cent of respondents. The opposition Liberals campaigned against the deal and many Canadians feared for their jobs,

but Brian Mulroney's Conservatives returned to power and the agreement went into effect on Jan. 1, 1989. Two years later, free trade simply disappeared as a concern, with negligible numbers of respondents mentioning it in subsequent polls, even with the North American Free Trade Agreement extending the trade zone to include Mexico in 1994. This

year's poll shows how free trade has simply become part of the Canadian economic fabric.

Q: Canada should have free trade agreements with many countries



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A Shifting Landscape

By Allan R. Gregg

The past five years have witnessed a profound change in the government and public-opinion agenda of Canada. Throughout the 1980s and well into the mid-1990s, Canadians' concerns revolved essentially around economic issues. The population's focus on unemployment and the direction of the economy was heavily underscored by fire made in 1988, and then again in more pointed concerns over deficits and government spending from 1993 to 1995. But throughout, the electorate's refrain remained essentially the same: "It's the economy, stupid!" Indeed, over this period of time so few Canadians cited social issues as "the most important problem facing the country" that those issues did not even register in the first 11 years of the *Maclean's* survey.

All that started to change in 1996, when we found 11 per cent of respondents mentioning social issues as their dominant, top-of-mind concern. Today, that number has grown to almost half the population, as social issues eclipse any other category by a ratio of more than 4:1. The social issue dominating all other questions, of course, is health care—an aspect of Canadian life also cited, quite than any other, as having deteriorated over the past 25 years.

If the issue agenda has shifted, so, too, have the groups in society who are driving attention towards social concerns. Whereas it was predominantly higher-income earners, men and the middle-aged who propelled recent economic concerns forward, this year's research demonstrates that the demand for change and an unhappiness with the status quo is

most pronounced among women, the poor and the elderly. The combination of these two dynamics—a changing public opinion agenda and a shifting constituency demanding change—potentially represents a sea change in the underlying forces shaping political discourse in the years to come.

Recent events suggest that this dynamic is already upon us—and that many of our elites have failed to grasp its consequences. As evidence, we need look no further than the hapless fortunes of the Canadian Alliance in the November election. Mired in a belief that the population was concerned with the economy and fed up with overtaxation, the opposition party sailed away in that tax and tax cuts in the conscience of its campaign. Not only did the Alliance's priority message with a meagre eight per cent of the population as their most important issue, but the constituency to whom this pitch was made—essentially higher-income-earning males—is the most satisfied segment of the population. Hardly the kind of audience to be moved by the Alliance election message. "A time for change."

While many may argue that the incumbent Liberals understand this new reality better than their opponents, there is no guarantee that, once again in power, they will have any greater success in coming to grips with the population's growing concern over social issues. For a start, these are intractable and arguably systemic problems with no immediately identifiable solutions. Reorienting our education system, grappling with homelessness or overhauling our health-care system, by their nature, will be more difficult than to venture to the ground than cutting spending, negotiating with the sea or negotiating a trade agreement.

The sheer magnitude of these challenges and the time it would take to produce results may prove so daunting that they may remain unaddressed by politicians schooled in solving problems that can be solved before their next election call. Should that happen, the chasm between leadership and the led will grow even wider. Given Prime Minister Jean Chretien's own (and unwavering) survival instinct, however, it is far more likely those will be addressed within the next few years—that is, both elites and the population, for the first time in three decades, will be forced to turn their collective attention to social issues.

Even under this optimistic scenario, however, the prospect for an early consensus is remote. First, we have few clues that the government has any clear notion of what course to follow. Also, these are not issues that can be engaged by one level of government in isolation. Both constitutional jurisdiction and the unwillingness of provinces such as health, education and poverty demand co-operation among all levels of government. Suffice it to say, the nation's track record on this front has been less than stellar in recent years. Even more problematic, if there is an emerging consensus as to what should be

our national priorities, there is little evidence that the population is sufficiently convinced of any one course of action.

We do know from our year-end survey, however, what the electorate will see as viable. First, the people know that to do nothing is to make their problems worse. Concerns over health care, education and poverty have grown out of inactivity rather than any specific initiative that has gone wrong. For the public, the quo therefore has no status.

Canadians appear to be prepared to entertain new means to address their concerns. We now find half the population reporting some measure of acceptance of either moderate user fees or a private system alongside medicine as possible solutions to maintaining our health standards. But make no mistake, it is our health standards that the population values and not user fees or private medicine. The problem to date has been that political leaders have been unable to convince the electorate that they share Canadians' understanding as to what are ends and what are means. If anything, the political discourse has left the electorate feeling that those who advocate solutions have their priorities reversed—valuing user fees or a private system rather than the preservation of an as-needed past.

Our research also shows that Canadians are highly skeptical

Social issues didn't even register in the first 11 years of the poll. Now they dominate.

of government's ability simply to spend our way out of problems. Having linked government spending to many of the economic problems of the past, the electorate now assumes that the same approach is just as unlikely to produce solutions to our social challenges.

This penchant should not be interpreted as a wholesale belief that government has no role in solving social issues. Quite the contrary. Not only does this poll show social concerns growing, but it also reveals that key groups in society—18- to 25-year olds, the best educated, women and Liberal voters—are beginning to adopt a more activist posture and support the belief that "the role of government is central to our ability to evolve as a fair society." Taken together, this represents a public opinion minefield for our political leaders.

Not only is there no consensus about which solutions are most appropriate to address Canadians' growing concerns, there is also little agreement as to the role that government should be playing in bring about these (yet-to-be identified) perceptions. Our leaders will have to galvanize a consensus where none exists today to gain the legitimacy or support to move in any direction. Bringing a population together and forging a consensus has been the mission of governments for world leaders throughout history. Looking back on the recent election, Chretien must have felt that his dual majority victory was a remarkable cakewalk. Looking forward, he must be asking himself if this is a test he is prepared to fail.

Allan R. Gregg is chairman of the Toronto-based consulting firm The Strategic Counsel.

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Public Pillow Talk

By Jason O'Hara

Larry Jensen, a married, 47-year-old farmer who lives near North Battleford, Sask., is positively mesmerizing when he talks about the rutting habits of his elk herd. During their mating season, he says, his bulls lose up to 300 lb. from their 1,100-lb. frames. "It's the only thing on their minds," says Jensen, who also raises dairy cattle and buffalo on his 2,500-acre farm. "It really wears them down. They won't even eat." But when the conversation moves closer to home, and his own sex life, he audibly cringes. "Ahhhhhh, no," he says, straddling as though he's just lost his last dollar at a blackjack table. "That's not something I want to discuss with you. It's embarrassing." Jensen is not alone. In the far-reaching *Maclean's* year-end poll, the questions probing the sexual habits of Canadians are the ones most likely to cause respondents to shut up, resulting in the high levels of "won't answer" responses.

Alan Gregg, who designed the poll questions in conjunction with editors from *Maclean's* and the Global Television Network, says he was "attracted" by the refusal rate this year—especially among women. This is the 17th straight year that *Maclean's* has asked questions about sex, and Gregg, who has guided the project each year, has always been impressed by Canadians' willingness to discuss the subject. But this is the first time the poll grilled respondents not just on the standard questions about their general level of sexual activity and satisfaction, or even more specifically about how many partners they



have had in the past year and in their lifetime. For the first time, it crosses a line into the closed world of homosexual fantasies. "Clearly this is a subject that older Canadians, in particular, feel really uncomfortable talking about even over the phone," says Gregg. "It's like the sexual revolution never really happened."

Still, the perennially sexy Newfoundlanders have no problem either doing it or crowing about it. For the 17th straight year, they top the "most sexually active" category. A full 74 per cent say they are having sex, and only 11 per cent decline to answer. At the opposite end of the country, just 59 per cent of British Columbians say they have an active sex life, and 14 per

cent had enjoyed 50 sexual partners up to the age of 52, then give up having sex. "No wonder people are telling pollsters to mind their own business," he says. "This is highly personal."

But something else is happening, says Vancouver clinical therapist Ellen Tallman. After more than 30 years of listening to her clients reveal their most intimate secrets, she has noticed that fewer are coming to talk about their sex lives. In some cases, it's because they have more pressing problems or have lowered their expectations about sex. "When I started doing therapy—when we still took Freud seriously—I wouldn't have dreamed of working with someone long-term and not having sexual issues as a large part of the content," she says. "Now, it seems to be in the background. Many people have just covered it up."

On the other hand, Tallman believes that unrealistic portrayals of sex in the media make some feel ashamed that they aren't keeping pace. "Everywhere around us, it seems like everyone is having sex," says Tallman. "People look at that and say, 'There must be something wrong with me.'"

Even relative Olympians of sexual activity feel somewhat squeamish talking publicly about their exploits. Jessica Morrison, an 18-year-old cook in Winnipeg, has had 11 lovers since she became sexually active two years ago. Revealing that number, she says, may make other people judge her as promiscuous. But she insists that—like many of her friends—she is simply part of a new breed of sexually adventurous women who have taken more control of their own minds. "My friends are all having sex," says Morrison. "Just go to the bars. There's dirty dancing right there on the dance floor. I don't know anyone who's been

Canadians reveal their sexual secrets, but draw the line when it comes to some intimate details

cent won't touch the question. Another 27 per cent of the supposedly laid-back British Columbians—the most in any region—also prefer not to answer the question. "In your lifetime, how many different partners have you had sex with?" That reserve holds firm in Manitoba, where one out of five respondents effectively told pollsters to buzz off when asked to raise their level of sexual activity.

Older respondents are far less likely than the young to answer the sex questions. As one unmarried 72-year-old Montreal man acknowledged: "That's still a prudishness about that." On the condition his name would not be used, he told *Maclean's* in a follow-up interview that he

Like True Newfoundlanders

Although margins for error for individual figures are higher than the plus or minus 3.1 percentage points of the national sample, Newfoundlanders top the list every year of those saying they are satisfied with their level of sexual activity. This year's numbers:



Titillating Times

Sure there's a lot of sex on the tube, but it's nothing Canadians get too worked up about

By Shanda Dezziel

Flip around the channels late at night and sex is everywhere. Half an hour devoted to the pleasures of the rest end on Discovery's *The Sex Files*. Sex columnist Sue Johnson holding up a vibrator on WTN's *Sunday Night Sex Show*. And on Bravo, *Sex and the City* Carrie, Samantha, Charlotte and Miranda are doing it—a lot (kind of like those Newfoundlanders!) Even in prime time, intruding at least, if not the real thing, is everywhere. We've come a long way since the 1960s and the separate beds of Rob and Laura on *The Dick Van Dyke Show*. Sensing a growing acceptance level in society, broadcasters are pushing out.

Not that there's (necessarily) anything wrong with that. According to this year's *Maclean's* Global poll, 45 per cent of respondents think the amount of sexual content on late-night television is about right—and five per cent say there's not enough. They overrule the 50 per cent who say there is too much. That group increases, however, when respondents are asked to consider sexual content either in the evening, on prime-time TV. In that case, almost half (47 per cent) say there's too much. But even then, virtually as many have no complaints (42 per cent) or would like to see more prime-time sex (four per cent). "It is not something the population is worried about," concludes Allan Gregg, chairman of The Strategic Council, the Toronto firm that conducts the yearly poll. What he calls "pockets of concern" are found largely on rural areas, among the older population and among women, he says.

As for the rest of the country, it relaxes, even welcomes,



• **The Sex and the City crew:** delighting in locker-room talk of ropes and ropes

sex. Across the continent, women gather for *Sex and the City* parties, delighting in those New York City locations' locker-room talk of ropes, origin story, and anal and anal sex. Each week, about 200,000 viewers tune in to the hour-long *Sunday Night Sex Show* to hear Johnson's open-minded advice to confused and curious others. And *The Sex Files* helps couples understand the biology of intimacy in order to better their sex lives. Are those shows playing to a sex-obsessed fringe? Hardly. Even with their late-night time slots, they are the flat-or-second-highest-rated programs on their channels.

As for prime time, networks insist that the increasingly explicit content simply mirrors changes in society. "Sex is much more socially acceptable than it was," says Doug Hoover, senior vice-president of programming for the Global Television Network. He has examples everywhere. "I have ladies, particularly, telling jokes in public that would not have been told a few years ago," says Hoover. "There is an open dialogue about sex between many parents and their kids, and some schools are dispelling condoms now."



• **Calista Flockhart (left) on *Ally McBeal*:** "just sex from one end to the next"

The broadcasting industry's self-regulatory body, the Canadian Broadcast Standards Council, reports the same pattern. Of the 387 complaints it received about TV programming during the 1999-2000 season, 143 were about violence and 65 concerned sex. Ron Cohen, the council's national chairman, says it tends to side with the broadcaster if sexual content was not gratuitously violent and was aired, with standard viewer advisories, after 9 p.m. Conversely, the council "will be more demanding" with a broadcaster in the case of complaints about violence, Cohen says.

MediaWatch, an organization that helps Canadians file complaints with the broadcast council, occasionally finds its decisions too permissive. Melanie Czekalski, MediaWatch communications manager, cites a case in which the regulatory body rejected a complaint that four rapes in one late-night movie represented gratuitous sexual violence. Czekalski believes constant references to sex on TV have desensitized many viewers. "You stop noticing them after a while," she says. "But when you bring the attention to people's attention, they look at it in a different way and realize that these images are potentially damaging."

Among poll respondents who think there is too much sex on prime-time TV, retired schoolteacher Robert Raboin, 59, of Guelph, Ont., finds the 9 p.m. drawing line too early. Many children, he notes, are still awake, have TVs in their bedrooms and are watching shows like *Ally McBeal*, which Raboin describes as "just sex from one end to the next." He is also bothered by *Sex: Women Talking*, a cartoonish show geared to kids, but featuring "scantly clad women running around."

Kerry McMillan, 31, has a problem with the sex-related story lines seen at all hours on television. "All the shows are about the same thing," says the stay-at-home mother of five from Calgary. "My kids see it on *Friends* and *That '70s Show*, but even on things like *Poltergeist*. While the stories may not be about getting into bed, they are always about someone wanting to go out with a girl and lose her." But McMillan admits that her older kids, who are 15 and 11, already know a lot about sex—she has just resigned herself to letting them watch shows she may not approve of.

Often, too, men resigned to TV's sexual revolution. The Canadian cable channel Showcase received little negative feedback last summer when it aired a controversial British gay drama series at midnight, *Queer as Folk*. A 29-year-old male viewer, who, Showcase will run a new, equally explicit American version of the series two hours earlier in the evening, airing in January Broadcasters, it seems, will always test the limits of public acceptability. ■

As Time Goes By

Q: How would you describe the amount of sexually explicit programming on prime-time TV?

Too much	47%
About right	42%
Too little	4%
Most likely to say too much:	
Women	61%
Over 50 years	69%
Intending to vote Alliance	60%

Q: How would you describe the amount of sexually explicit programming on late-night TV?

Too much	30%
About right	49%
Too little	8%
Most likely to say too much:	
Intending to vote Alliance	43%
Women	40%
Over 50 years	34%
Most likely to say too little:	
25-29 years	12%

A Time to Act

By Anthony Wilson-Smith

When it comes to telling political ideas to the public, Jean Chretien has always understood that symbols mean as much as substance. Consider the aftermath of the 1993 federal election campaign—Chretien's first as Liberal leader. On Nov. 4, the day the new cabinet was sworn in, incoming ministers either walked to Rideau Hall for the ceremony or arrived in their own cars. After the swearing-in, they filed into waiting minibuses, which took them to their new offices on Parliament Hill. The unspoken but obvious message was that the government intended to conduct itself modestly with taxpayers' money. Fortunately for the Liberals, no reporters were on the Hill that day—so no one reported that the arriving ministers were greeted by a cascade of limousines and drivers. The mini-buses drove off, and haven't been seen since.

Seven years and two elections later, the Liberals have no more need for such subtlety—and besides, the times, circumstances and attitudes have changed. Although Canada's national debt still totals more than \$551 billion, the Liberals now expect to post a surplus this year of \$13.5 billion, and have been making publicly for months our how to spend a \$o for, the Prime Minister and Finance Minister Paul Martin say they will earmark that money for paying down the debt, new spending on health and social programs, and some cost reductions.

According to the findings of the Maclean's/Global year-end poll, public opinion has been drifting over the past two years towards the spending option and away from addressing the debt, where 36 per cent of respondents cited government spending and the deficit as the country's most important problem in 1995, only seven per cent do so now. "We have a prospect for a different dynamic in political discourse," says Allan Gregg, who has conducted Maclean's year-end polls for 17

Tax cuts can wait. Canadians want to see their governments spending again.

years. "Attention has shifted from the economy towards social issues." Despite all the discussion of tax breaks before and during the campaign, that opinion is, in fact, favoured by fewer respondents than social spending or debt reduction. When asked in another question to identify the country's most important problem, only eight per cent cite taxes. Conversely crime

and violence, national unity and the environment also rank in the single digits. On the other hand, 45 per cent of respondents say they are most concerned about social services, 35 per cent specifically mention health care. Overall, the survey, which coincidentally was conducted during the Nov. 27 election campaign, goes a long way to explaining why the Liberals fared so well—and why the Canadian Alliance, despite a slight increase in its number of seats, fell so far short. It also suggests that, despite criticism of the uneven performance of Alliance Leader Stockwell Day, the party's real problem lies with its message, not its chief messenger.

For the most part, Canadians, says Gregg, "don't want ideological disputes to occur; they want to see some innovation and new ideas" in areas such as health, education and care for the homeless. And these feelings are shared across the country to a surprising degree—contrary to the way the new Parliament is divided along regional lines. On issues ranging from cultural affairs to health care to the environment, respondents indicate they would welcome more government intervention, either in the form of legislation or increased spending. Forty-nine per cent of respondents want more money for amateur sports, 66 per cent approve of increased funding for artistic and cultural activities, and 61 per cent support rates to require a high proportion of Canadian content on domestic television and radio. In every re-



Day with wife Valerie: mixed support for his social conservatism

gion, a majority of respondents approves of all three.

The widespread support for government involvement is also evident when respondents are asked to choose between two sharply different priorities. Given the option of a Canada with "the strongest environmental protection legislation in the world" or "relatively low taxes," 56 per cent choose the former, compared with 39 per cent opting for low taxes. Environmental support is highest in Ontario, at 66 per cent, and lowest in Quebec, at 46 per cent. The highest percentage favouring low taxes (50 per cent) is in Quebec, which has the country's highest tax rate, and the lowest (30 per cent) is in Ontario, which has aggressively cut taxes in recent years.

On issues involving individual values, respondents come down in some sharply different ways on the social conservatism that is an Alliance hallmark. Day, for example, is strongly opposed personally to allowing abortions, although he has said he would let the issue be decided by a referendum. The Maclean's/Global poll suggests he would be badly disappointed: two-thirds of respondents want to "make abortions freely available to women who want this procedure." Support for that notion is highest in British Columbia, where Day holds his own seat, at 75 per cent, and lowest in the Atlantic provinces, at 57 per cent, and the Prairies, at 58 per cent.

Day also hammered away on a low-and-order theme in the campaign, arguing that violent criminals should serve their full prison terms without parole. But faced with the proposition that prison should be "used only as a punishment of last resort," 56 per cent of respondents agree, while

34 per cent disagree. And 70 per cent would rather see money spent on a national child care program than on building more prisons to keep offenders off the street (the preferred option for 23 per cent).

At the same time, Day and the Alliance can take comfort in several other areas. Many Alliance members, for example, support the notion of the death penalty, and for first-degree murder, 55 per cent of Maclean's/Global respondents agree. In every region, a majority is in favour. Half of the respondents also agreed with the broad assertion that Canada should be governed "according to Christian principles." Neither the Alliance nor the Liberals are interested in recognizing gay marriage—and only 40 per cent of respondents think they should.

The Liberals begin their third mandate with growing numbers of respondents saying they feel more confident about their ability to manage their own economic affairs—and less impressed by their political leaders. Forty-five per cent of respondents polled this year think their personal prosperity will increase in coming years, while 37 per cent expect their lot to remain about the same—and only 15 per cent expect to do less well. At the same time, fully half say their opinion of Canadian politicians has worsened in recent years, while only eight per cent think better of them. On the one hand, then, Cynicism and the Liberals can consolidate themselves on being in sync with the voters on many key issues. But on the other, they might not want to pull that trick with the mini-buses again anytime soon. ■

Tax Relief in Perspective

While politicians argue over the value of cutting taxes, public sentiment for spending on social programs has been increasing.

Q: For every \$100 the federal government has to spend from a budget surplus, how much would you have it spend on

	1996	2000
Paying down the national debt	\$38	\$32
Increasing spending on social programs, including health care	\$37	\$42
Giving it back to the people in income tax reductions	\$25	\$26



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Paying the Price

By Robert Marshall

Much admired, much maligned, Canada's health-care system wanders from crisis to crisis. Is it time to consider an overhaul? As *Maclean's* surveys have shown consistently over the years, medicine is a matter of enormous pride for many Canadians, up there with the Maple Leaf flag as a symbol of what we are as a people. In promising access to fully covered care for everyone, and ensuring privacy, fee-for-service competition, the Canadian system stands apart from almost any other. This year, though, the *Maclean's*/Global year-end poll finds a nation increasingly willing to consider fundamental change on the health-care front.

With medicine playing such a central role in Canadian life, it is sometimes hard to imagine that it has been in effect for only about three decades of Canada's 133 years. The *Canada Health Act*, which replaced previous legislation in 1984, sets out the renowned five principles guiding the health service: public administration (ensuring government-run responsibility for all insured health services), universality (everyone is covered), portability (coverage extends to other

health-care costs in the baby-boom generation ages. And even as the two-tier debate was raging in the federal election campaign, during which the poll was conducted, almost half of respondents—47 per cent—said they would accept a private system, alongside medicine, as another possible solution.

That number suggests a solid base of acceptance of two-tier medicine. In the 1996 year-end poll, *Maclean's* asked Canadians to look forward to the year 2005, imagine certain scenarios, and say how likely—and how acceptable—each seemed. Fully 81 per cent thought there could be two health-care systems in place within a decade, one for people who want and can afford private medicine, another for those who can't or do not want to pay. And 47 per cent said they found that scenario acceptable—precisely the same proportion as in this year's finding.

This year, health care dominates responses to the poll's annual question "What is the most important issue facing Canada today?" Fully 35 per cent cite health care as their main concern, while another 10 per cent point to education and other social services. It is the second straight year that social issues have topped the list. The next most commonly mentioned concerns this year, unemployment and the economy—by far the biggest issues throughout the early '90s—are now cited by a total of just 11 per cent.

Concerns about health care are greatest on the coasts—the top issue for 54 per cent of respondents in the Atlantic region



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User fees and two-tier. Are Canadians ready for fundamental changes to health care?

provinces); and accessibility (provinces must provide "reasonable access" to care). Politicians of all stripes swear by those principles, even as they grow private services offered outside the medicine umbrella and the cost of medications, generally not covered outside hospitals, are raising the health-care safety net into something unrecognizable to its founders.

User fees for some services. A "two-tier" plan allowing for a private system to operate alongside medicine. The poll reveals that those two concepts, blasphemy to the medicans' point, hardly seem outrageous to many Canadians. A majority of respondents, 54 per cent, would accept moderate user fees as a means of addressing the looming increases in

and 45 per cent in British Columbia—and lower in Quebec (25 per cent). That was also markedly more among women (47 per cent) than men (30 per cent). When asked to consider possible changes to cope with looming demands on the system, by far the most popular choice is simply to increase spending on health care while cutting government spending in other areas. That option appeals to fully 78 per cent of respondents, dropping to lower in any region than 74 per cent in Quebec.

New projections from the Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI) suggest that governments have already heard that message from the public: The national data gathering agency reports that the provinces increased health spending by 6.7 per cent last year and will boost the figure by a further 7.7 per cent this year, to reach a total of \$67.6 billion. Private health-care spending, meanwhile, grew by 4.5 per cent in 1999 and an estimated five per cent in 2000. That takes Canada's health spending from roughly \$84 billion in 1998 to \$95.1 billion now. The money is clearly flowing again; Canadians will judge how wisely it is spent.

Reserving some of those costs in the form of moderate user fees, however, has broad appeal, acceptable to at least half of respondents in every region except Ontario (48 per cent). Most worried that rates in residents of their place of residence, Saskatchewan, at 68 per cent. For Edward Fink, 65, a retired floor covering salesman in Regina, it's a matter of controlling costs. "Now ago you never heard of people seeing a doctor when they had a cold for a day or two," says the poll respondent. "But now too many people are abusing the system."

The two-tier option finds greater favour among British Columbians (58 per cent) and Quebecers (55 per cent). Jill Ferguson, 50, a part-time high school physiotherapist in West Vancouver, says she would like to have the option of paying for something like a knee operation if it would significantly reduce her waiting time. Concerns that a private system



Canadians reject reductions in medicare services

would drain talent from the public sector could be addressed by regulation. "Maybe doctors in a private clinic would have to work part of the time in the public sector," suggests Ferguson. "Or they could spend more working in the public sector before going private."

But, intriguingly, two-tier does not fly in Alberta, where fully 60 per cent consider a purified private system unacceptable. That likely reflects the polarization of opinion resulting from the passage last May of the Conservative government's controversial Bill 1. Despite Premier Ralph Klein's insistence that the legislation simply set out the conditions for certain private doctors to operate outside medicare—as many do legally in other provinces—critics portrayed it as a means of moving the province towards two-tier care. Across Canada, the 65-plus generation—those most likely to be calling on the health system—share Al-

bertans' desire for a two-tier solution.

Two other health-care scenarios essentially secured the backs of respondents' heads. Two-thirds (66 per cent) rejected the notion of raising taxes to pay for increased demands on the system. And forget about reducing the level of medicare services: 79 per cent think that's a bad idea.

Finding more money to grant Canadians' health-care wishes presents a challenge to political managers. More than half of poll respondents (52 per cent) agreed to believe that government is taking on too many functions. But where would they be willing to see the government do less? Asked a series of questions about the Canada they would like to see, they solidly support programs to keep skilled workers in Canada, eliminate homelessness, protect the environment, guarantee pocketbook efforts, and fund amateur sports and cultural activities. If the Liberals in their third mandate want to avoid more radical solutions by simply diverting more money towards health care, they risk alienating some powerful interest groups.

Percentage citing social services as their top concern



government spending cuts started to bite. In 1996, social services, including health and education, registered on the top-issues chart for the first time. They were the primary concern of 11 per cent of respondents—a still a small fraction compared with the 37 per cent pointing to unemployment and the economy in general. But it was the start of a trend.

Shifting Priorities

Throughout the '80s and well into the '90s, health care simply did not register on the radar screen of Canadians' concerns. Unemployment, free trade, the government deficit, national unity, the GST, the environment—those were the issues respondents raised when asked what concerned them most. Then,

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Politics, Social Attitudes and Sex

The poll examines core values and erotic fantasies

The 17th annual Maclean's year-end poll, undertaken in partnership with the Global Television Network, was conducted by Toronto-based The Strategic Counsel. The results are drawn from telephone interviews with 1,000 adult Canadians between Nov. 7 and 12, in the midst of the federal election campaign. Respondents were selected randomly from all 10 provinces, including a disproportionate number from the smaller ones to bring the minimum sample from

each up to a statistically meaningful level. National results are considered accurate to within 3.1 percentage points, 19 times out of 20. Accuracy ranges are wider for results from individual provinces, regions or other subgroups. Numbers in tables and charts are rounded off, and in most cases "don't know" and no-answer responses are eliminated.

Findings indicate percentage of respondents except where expressed as dollars

GENERAL ATTITUDES

What is the most important issue facing Canada today?



Are you more or less optimistic about the future than you were a decade ago?



In the past 30 years, would you say that your personal financial situation has gotten better or worse?



HEALTH-CARE CHOICES

How accountable in each of the following initiatives as a way of addressing potentially higher health-care costs as the baby boom generation ages?



Compared with a few years ago, are you personally more or less confident in your ability to look after your economic interests as your own?



Some consider Canada to be a better country where nothing is getting happen. Do you agree or disagree?



THE ECONOMY

Looking into the future a few years, do you expect your personal prosperity to increase or decrease?



Looking into the future a few years, do you expect Canada's prosperity to increase or decrease?



GOVERNMENT

In the past few years, has your opinion of Canadian politicians improved or decreased?



The federal government will have a budget surplus this year. For every \$100 it has to spend from that surplus, how much should go to each of the following?



The federal government has programs designed to redistribute tax revenues to the provinces based on their economic needs. Which of these two points of view better reflects your own?

Some provinces are having to give too many tax dollars to others

It is the responsibility of provinces to share their wealth



There has been some discussion lately about the appropriate size and role of government. Which of these two points of view better reflects your own?

Government is undertaking too many functions and individuals should be more responsible for their lives

Government is careful to use ability to create as a fair society and it would be wrong for it to do less or have its size reduced further

Don't know/no answer



PRIORITIES

Any society has to set priorities and make choices. Would you want Canada to be a country that...

...has the strongest environmental protection legislation in the world

...or has relatively low taxes

...or has more private to ensure that offenders are kept off the streets for as long as their sentences allow

...or levels increased child care program to ensure all parents have access to affordable, high-quality child care

...or invests in a stronger and more up-to-date military force

...or invests in providing housing for all homeless Canadians

...or ensures reasonable pensions for senior citizens

...or provides tax incentives to create jobs in the high-tech sector

...or increases funding for artistic and cultural industries

...or increases funding for senior citizens

...or increases funding for senior citizens

...or increases funding for senior citizens

...or increases funding for senior citizens

...or increases funding for senior citizens

...or increases funding for senior citizens

...or increases funding for senior citizens



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CANADA 25 YEARS AGO

Thinking back 25 years ago and basing on your own experiences or on what you have seen, read or heard, do you think Canada today is a better or worse place to live than it was in the mid-1970s?

100% Better 24% Worse 76%

And thinking ahead 25 years, do you think that compared to today Canada will be a better or worse place to live in?

100% Better 12% Worse 88%

If you could, would you prefer to live in the Centre or today in the Centre of 25 years ago?

Centre of today 50% Centre of 25 years ago 34% Don't know/no difference 16%

VALUES

There has been some discussion lately about the kind of place Canada should become in the next few years. Do you agree or disagree that there are the kinds of things that Canada should do in the next few years?

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

I want to live in a society where we can reduce the harm done by alcohol and drugs.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on health care.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on environmental protection.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on social services.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on education.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on research and development.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on the arts and culture.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on international development.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on space exploration.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on nuclear energy.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on the environment.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on the arts and culture.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on international development.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

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100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on nuclear energy.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on the environment.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

Canada should spend more on the arts and culture.

100% Strongly agree 100% Strongly disagree 100% Don't know

CANADA THEN AND NOW

For each of the following, is Canada better or worse today than 25 years ago?

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

Our treatment of aboriginal peoples.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

Our treatment of visible minorities.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

The amount of racial tension people have.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

The opportunities for young people.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

Our health and physical well-being.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

The quality of television programming.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

Our treatment of the poor and disadvantaged.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

The quality of the environment in Canada.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

Our public education system.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

The quality of popular music.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

Our television system.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

Our ethical or moral standards.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

The feeling of personal safety of Canadians.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

The quality of our political leaders.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

The quality of our political leaders.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

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The quality of our political leaders.

100% Much better 100% Somewhat better 100% About the same 100% Somewhat worse 100% Much worse 100% Don't know

LIFESTYLES

How would you describe the amount of sexually explicit programming currently on prime-time TV?

100% Too much 100% About right 100% Too little

How would you describe the amount of sexually explicit programming on late-night TV?

100% Too much 100% About right 100% Too little

How would you describe the amount of sexually explicit programming on late-night TV?

100% Too much 100% About right 100% Too little

How would you describe the amount of sexually explicit programming on late-night TV?

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The Sexes Who in the mid-'70s:
Backstage (below, left) and Countdown
in November: the past returns

Council chairman and CEO Allan Gregg, of his 17th year-end poll for *Maclean's*. "Our minds are better, our bodies are better, but our institutions, and our hearts, perhaps aren't. We don't have the same kind of ethical and moral standards or health-care systems—these sort of things are on the decline."

Each of the 1,400 respondents in the survey, aged 18 or older, obviously brought their own experience to bear. Relationships, movies, music, fashion—even the leisure was now wrapping polyester byproducts into landfill across the country—all play a part in the rainy watercolour memories of the way we were. So, then is no escape even for those too young to have lived the 1970s. The answers are still dominated by baby boomer music, or by young adults who have sampled old standards to create edgy new music: revision. The mainstream television universe is a trackless desert of reruns—there is even a modern offering called *The '70s Show*. Perhaps in self-defence, the young have embraced disco nights and their parents' retro fashions, anachronistic hand-washed denim.

Does it matter? Asked to pick what was truly of value from both eras, age, geography and political leaning all played a telling role, yet a powerful national consensus emerged on several

issues as a music and health-care planner and living on Salaspur Island, B.C., a much less bloody than many of her generation to dwell in the 1970s. "I think living in the past is a good way of getting old," she reports from "paradise," an ocean-view home outside the staid conservancy of Ganges. "Fashion is fleeting, but the future is always the best way of looking at things."

She agrees with a past majority of respondents that Canadians have become, for the better, a far more tolerant people. Given a menu of issues to choose from, a chart-topping 72 per cent cited "our treatment of gays and lesbians" today as the largest single improvement in today's society. Next on the list, at 66 per cent, was "our treatment of visible minorities." Summer immigrated to Canada from Germany in 1953—part of the huge wave of European post-Second World War immigrants. Even in 1975, Europe remained the largest single source of immigrants, although that changed by the 1980s, when Canada began to draw the majority of immigrants from Asia. "Eventually, we'll all meld together and become something positive," says Summer.

Across the country and several decades younger, Rob Hebert, 27, of Fredericton harbours serious reservations about the modern age. "I'm looking at the quality of my parents' life versus today," says Hebert, who is single and manages a five-room house. He cites such concerns as heavy taxation, families fractured by divorce, and treatment of the homeless and poor as problems that plague the modern Canada. In this he is not

alone. The public is split over its opinion of Canada's treatment of the poor and disadvantaged. While 40 per cent say the poor are now treated better, 32 per cent say the poor are worse off, and one in four says there has been no progress on poverty issues. Worsening ethical and moral standards are a significant public concern. Just 23 per cent say standards have improved while half say morals are sliding. Hebert's misgivings then reach into the past—to Black Sabbath, Oxy-Clean and Coors—and Coors' Clearwater Reveal—although the majority of respondents under age 30 understandably consider today's music better. "I don't know if you can say you were born in the wrong time," says Hebert, a bit wistfully. "But I'd like to have been a '60s child. I think of that free-love again thing, it sounded like fun." Generally, however, even the nostalgia is conditional. Canadians had

Then and Now

Our minds and bodies may be better, but our hearts are not

By Ken MacQueen

It was the best of times. It was the worst of times. It was, let's be frank, the age of leisure suits. When respondents to the *Maclean's* Global year-end poll were asked to compare the country of today with that of 25 years ago, Canadians had a dilemma of a time coming to agreement about the relative merits of 1975—a year that ranked the first issue of *Maclean's* as a newsmagazine. Questions asked by The Strategic Council pollsters ranged from the quality of television, then and now, to the quality of music. *Are we more tolerant as a people? Yes. Are today's politicians better? Is a pig a pig? Was there more sexual freedom in the age of disco? Also, ask your mother.*

The answers triggered a lively debate over what aspects of a tumultuous quarter-century of change actually constituted progress. "There does seem to be a pattern," says Strategic



LOOKING BACK TO 1975	
TOP 5	
72%	Percentage saying there are BETTER TODAY:
72%	Treatment of gays and lesbians
66%	Treatment of visible minorities
62%	Sexual freedom
57%	Opportunities for young people
56%	Our health and well-being
BOTTOM 5	
40%	Percentage saying there are WORSE TODAY:
40%	Health care
33%	Sexual safety
29%	Ethical or moral standards
28%	Environment
26%	Public education

It was the best of times.
It was the worst of times.
It was, let's be frank,
the age of leisure suits.

strong, if conflicting, opinions on what was gained and lost over the years. "While a nation that's very class-based about the past," says Burt Dorr, an associate of The Strategic Council, "There's not really a desire to turn back the hands of time."

Oh, perhaps there is no need: the hands of time are relentlessly cyclical. While long enough—say 25 years—and the past returns like, well, like a remake of the mid-1970s piggie hit *Charlie Angel*, now playing at theaters everywhere. On a Guernsey reunion, which came 25 years after lead singer Barrett Cunningham quit the band to go solo. It was the same year that fellow Guernsey alumnus Randy Bachman scored the best-selling 1975 album with his breakaway band Bachman-Turner Overdrive. While Bachman's chart-topping single that year portrayed *New Adult Sex Nudies' '86*, by 2000 that promise of giant new drugs was ringing hollow on many floors. Even platform shoes have lost their full circle, embracing a new generation of podiatrists.

It was 1975, with the Oct. 6 issue, that *Maclean's* marked its own birthday with the venerable monthly became Canada's first newsmagazine, and it seems staff have been running ever since to keep up with the mind-boggling pace of change. The editorial of that first edition—under the guidance of then-editor Peter C. Newman, who remains a columnist and contributing editor—called the newsmagazine "a daring and slightly subversive venture." It was also a precursor of an information explosion that would see news radio, all-news television and finally the Internet, a concept that *Maclean's* readers in 1975 would likely have dismissed as science fiction. It took less than three decades for the first newsmagazine edition was burnt to ash. The time cannot be said of the previous September, 1975, issue with a full-page Jeanne Robertson offering, in "duck valises" and "sneaked cookies, a suit to 'fill your leisure hours with style.'"

Fashion aside, the news format was well suited to the rapidity of change. It was a time when institutions, politics and societal values were being measured, reviewed and rethought. Or so it seemed. Feminist Germaine Greer explained in a



John Travolta in *Saturday Night Fever*, 1977: Leisure suit of old (below): young people have embraced disco nights and retro fashions

1975 *Maclean's* interview that feminism need not be the death of "a phallic relationship." Indeed, just over half of respondents say the amount of sexual freedom is better today, although significant numbers of those over 60 and—go figure—respondents of Sudano-Hewson, consider the sexual climate worse. In other words, sexual change called. An early edition of the newsmagazine included an interview with shaggy-looking scientist David Suzuki, then a fresh media darling, asked for his thoughts on pop culture complex issues. His concerns about chemical contamination of the environment as the dangerous applications of "genetic surgery" could be pulled from today's headlines. In fact, 49 per cent of Canadians surveyed say the quality of the environment has worsened over the past 25 years. A modest 36 per cent saw an improvement. Quebecers, older Canadians and those tending to vote Progressive Conservative are most satisfied with the current state of the environment. New Democrats and those aged 25 to 29 are most worried that it has deteriorated.

Politics endures as a consistent source of despair. With inflation, running almost 11 per cent in 1975, one hardly noticed the national debt had crept past \$19 billion, cheap change when compared with 1997 when it topped out at \$583 billion. Disgraced U.S. president Richard Nixon was still being talked around two years after the Watergate scandal forced his resignation as president. The movie *All the President's Men*, chronicling Nixon's fall, hit theaters in early 1976, and inspired a generation of reporters and vision to

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The poll found there is no great desire to turn back the hands of time to 1975

take a jauntied view of political mores on both sides of the border. Notably, *Maclean's* first newsmagazine cover story—written by current Editor-in-Chief Robert Lewis—featured Pierre Trudeau's appointment of Donald Macdonald as finance minister after the abrupt resignation of John Turner. The stories portrayed a Liberal government: adult while the prime minister dined with a finance minister who covered the top job. Sound familiar? How about that? The opposition, wearing blood, moves to abolish the political right. Scoring from the cover of the March 8, 1976, edition was a frustrated politician, under a headline that has become a timeless Canadian question: "Can Joe Clark save the Tories?"

In what may be accidental verification of the notion that familiarity breeds contempt, respondents to the *Maclean's* Global poll said their highest level of concern for "the quality of our political leaders." The survey, conducted Nov. 7 to

12, in the wake of the federal election, found that just 14 per cent of respondents said today's politicians were better than those of 25 years ago. A substantial 45 per cent said they were worse, and 38 per cent felt they were "about the same."

Of course, in the case of Jean Chrétien and Joe Clark, they are the same. Among those registering their disapproval was Dennis Crozier, 51, of Saskatoon. She is an unemployed retail worker who is weighing the expense of returning to school to enhance her employability in a tight market. She found little comfort in

the platforms of any of the candidates. "The way they were acting, I didn't know who to vote for. They never addressed the issues, all they did was argue."

To the surprise of no one who tracked the election, health care rated the highest level of public concern of all issues mentioned in the survey. Significantly, about half of Canadians felt their own "health and physical well-being" were better today than in the past. But they were troubled by the health-care system, which, unlike cancer and diet, are beyond their personal control. A substantial 61 per cent felt health care had declined over the past 25 years. Or, perhaps more accurately, the concern was with the delivery of health care. "I know there are shortages of doctors, yes, but the advances in medical knowledge are way compared with 25 years ago," said Shelley Stewart, 39, a stay-at-home mom from Cornwall, P.E.I. One of her three sons was diagnosed with cancer at age 3½. Today, he is 13, and healthy. Had he been diagnosed 25 years ago, she says, "he definitely would not have been here now." Back on Salt Spring Island, Anne Steamer also sees



Canadian Error in 1976: Fertilization need not be the death of a public relationship

good and bad in health-care delivery. Technology has improved and so has life expectancy, she notes. In fact, life expectancy at birth has jumped about five years since 1975. What

troubles her is the rough treatment of the mentally ill. "Mentally incapacitated people were more secure 25 years ago because they were institutionalized and looked after." Today, during visits to the city, she sees them left to fend for themselves on the street. "We have medication to let them out, and sometimes we forget about them."

The survey is not without its contradictions. More than half of respondents feel "the personality of Canadians" has worsened. Yet, crime statistics give room for optimism. The rate of violent crime has fallen for seven consecutive years, after 15 years of increases. The national homicide rate actually peaked about 1975. Last year, it hit its lowest level since 1967. Then, there is the whole retro thing, from *Charlie Angel* to lava lamps. Canadaily, it is a nation embraced by the young, although they, as a group, are much happier with the present. Doreen of The Strange Canadian suspects both contradictions can be explained by what she sees in the poll as strong Canadian desire for "civility and stability." Crime, an obvious threat to a civil society, elicits a strong response. Retro chic, she sees, as a quest for stability. "Going back to the past and picking and choosing things that worked then, bringing them into the present with a slightly different twist." The theory takes a tumble, however, if one tries to rationalize the return of platforms shoes as a quest for stability.

Finally, the *Maclean's*/Global poll asked Canadians to look ahead to the year 2025. It is a measure of the optimistic times that 55 per cent of respondents predict better things to come. There is, though, a profound divide: 61 per cent of men are bullish about the future, but only 49 per cent of women agree. This indicates, if nothing else, the lack of a breakthrough in inter-gender communication those past 25 years.

Telling the future is a risky proposition, but some things seem certain for 2025, based on the lessons of the past. The music of the young will scandalize the oppressive legions of the old. Movies and television, in whatever form they exist, will be judged vastly inferior. Rap music will be huge on the fall fair nostalgia circuit. And, wait for it, a passing, male model will start a Porn wars, forcing the issue out on an innocent and unsuspecting generation. ☐

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25
YEARS

Times of Change

By Carl Molloy



The typewriter gave way to the computer, the debt begot the GST, FIRA died, but the PQ thrived. And AIDS raged

Looking back through the 25 years since Maclean's became a newsmagazine, some things prompt the old French cliché that *plus ça change, plus ça change*: in more than one respect, the more things change, the more they are the same. The bilingual issue, for example, the Quebec question. Or this familiar-sounding list, as true at the outset of the period in 1975 as it is 25 years later: a Liberal party government led by a Quebecer in office in Ottawa; on the strength of his third straight electoral victory.

But other things have seen enormous change—the Montreal Hockey League, say, or cross-border

concerns of the 1970s as our main teen party. Likewise, the devastation of AIDS (Canada's first known case diagnosed in 1982) make the old universal diseases seem minor.

But if growth is the gauge of progress, Canada did well. Its population went from 22.7 million to 30.8 million; its economy grew, too, despite slowdowns. So did poverty. The United States did even better, becoming the world's sole superpower after the collapse of the Soviet empire in 1991. The same year, Chinese leaders in the news at much of the world when the leadership violently suppressed a pro-democracy demonstration in Beijing's Tiananmen



Tiananmen Square: China's chaos

Square. Elsewhere, the abolition of apartheid in South Africa, the election of Nelson Mandela as president and a black parliamentary majority in 1994 offered the world an example of gender equality during a time when warfare wracked Africa, the Balkans and the Middle East.

On other fronts—in the laboratories, the human brain and its electronic counterpart, the computer—research found new ways of dealing with disease or death or the delivery of information. Not all people approved of cloning animals, the genetic modification of crops or, ultimately, of humans. Nor did everybody worship the Internet and the cellphone. The rituals and the lingo and the politics of the past 25 years thus spawned new disputes—or revived old differences—as many of the 25 following events attest.

1975 By a March 24 vote, the handwriting became, once a pillar of the economy law seen by some as a pact, officially becomes a symbol of Canada.

• On April 1, the mercantilism of Canada begins with the use of *Colas* temperance. Changes from imperial measurements to the metric system follow over the next 10 years.

• The introduction on the market of the user-friendly Apple launches the second-wave personal computer era.

1976 MPs vote 130 to 124 on July 14 to abolish capital punishment (except for some military offences).

• The Parti Québécois, led by René Lévesque, wins the Quebec election on Nov. 15, the first avowedly separatist government in Canadian history.

1977 On Jan. 1, Canada claims control of coastal waters up to 200



Parti Québécois rally during the 1980 referendum: 60 per cent voted against Lévesque's sovereignty proposals

mile offshore—an extension from 12 miles subsequently authorized by an international Law of the Sea agreement on Dec. 16, 1982.

1978 A new constitution adopted on Dec. 27 makes Spain a democracy after 40 years of fascist dictatorship imposed in a civil war that expelled Canadians from every country, including Canada, in a prelude to the Second World War.

1980 By a 60-per-cent majority, Quebecers vote on

May 20 against a referendum proposal to seek political sovereignty and economic association with Canada. In Ottawa action not directly related, Parliament makes *O Canada* the official national anthem.

1982 In a Parliament Hill ceremony on April 17, Queen Elizabeth II formally ends a century of British jurisdiction over Canada's constitutional law. The new Constitution has a Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

1983 Legislation on Oct. 26 changes the name of the July 1 holiday from Dominion Day to Canada Day.

1984 Two of her 50th security guards assassinate Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on Oct. 31, an attack seen in retaliation for an Indian army assault in June against radical Sikh separatists while in their religion's most sacred

shrine, the Golden Temple in the Punjab.

1985 A year after the attack on the Sikh Golden Temple, an explosion on June 23 wrecks an Air India flight from Canada to India off Ireland, killing all 329 onboard. A luggage bomb on another Canada India flight blows up on a stop in Tokyo, killing two luggage handlers.

1986 A nuclear meltdown on April 26 in a power plant in Chernobyl, Ukraine, spews radiation that kills more than 4,000 people, mutes another \$5 billion in lost construction facilities.

1987 The loonie, the 11-sided, bronze-colored dollar with a portrait of the current king on the tails side, makes its debut in June across Canada. The two-dollar coin—sneakily dubbed the toonie—goes into circulation in February, 1996.



1988 A Supreme Court of Canada ruling on Jan. 28 removes legal restrictions on a woman's right to have an abortion.

1989 The Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement, a



Research found new ways of dealing with disease, diet and information

The Berlin Wall falls; the birth of Nazarene (below); an Arctic miracle

decisive issue in the 1988 Canadian election that re-elected the sponsoring Conservative government, came into force on Jan. 1.

• On Nov. 9, as Soviet satellite regimes collapsed, people began tearing down the Berlin Wall, a symbol since 1961 of Europe's division into communist and capitalist camps.

• In what becomes known as the Montreal Massacre, gunman Marc Lépine shoots women students at the École polytechnique on Dec. 6, killing 14, an



event marked across Canada with anniversary vigils as a grim symbol of violence against women.

1990 Canadian shoppers begin cringing up the seven-per-cent Goods and Services Tax on Jan. 1, less than three weeks after it emerged from months of parliamentary opposition.

• The Meech Lake accord, a First Nations' plan to enhance Quebec's status and win its secession of the 1982 Constitution,

frustrates when Manitoba and Newfoundland fail to ratify it by the June 23 deadline.

1992 A national referendum on Oct. 26 kills the Charlottetown accord, a federal-provincial plan that would have granted Quebec "distinct society" status in the Constitution.

1995 In an Oct. 30 replay of the 1980 Quebec referendum that fell short of supplanting secession from Canada, Quebecers



Dolly the cloned lamb; there were mice, cows and goats

balls—but only by a slim majority of 50.5 per cent.

1997 In February, scientists at the Roslin Institute in Scotland exhibit Dolly, a sheep produced the previous year by cloning. Others, elsewhere, have done mice, cows and goats.

1999 The Territory of Nunavut—population about 20,000—is created on April 1 in the central and eastern Canadian Arctic.

2000 Europeans, wary of the impact on people, campaign against imports of genetically modified North American grains and feedstuffs.



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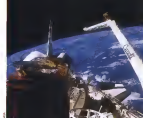
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A Snapshot of History on the Run

Tragedy and triumph marked a quarter-century of tumultuous change



The *Challenger* on a long march for the shuttle program

Challenges becomes the first Canadian to enter outer space

Feb. 10, 1976: Economist Sylvia Ostry becomes the first woman chief executive of a federal department, appointed deputy minister of consumer and corporate affairs.

June 25, 1976: Toronto's CN Tower, at 553 m the world's tallest free-standing structure, is opened to the public. (Over time, on June 5, 1989, what were called the tower's bride, SkyDome, first opens to guests—and its remarkable roof—to Blue Jays baseball.)

May 5, 1977: Willy Adams is named to the Senate for the Northwest Territories, the first Inuit to hold a seat in Parliament.

Aug. 30, 1978: Rock 'n' roller Elvis Presley is alleged to have died, age 42, likely as a result of drug use.

July 25, 1976: Louise Brown, the first test-tube baby, is born to John and Lesley Brown of Bexhill, England.

Aug. 14, 1979: John Diefenbaker, prime minister from 1957 to 1963, dies in Ottawa. After a state funeral in Ottawa, the body is transported by train to a burial site in Saskatoon.

Oct. 27, 1971: The first James Bay electric power is generated by Quebec Hydro.

Feb. 20, 1980: MPs elect Jeanne Sauvé the first female Speaker of the House of Commons. On May 14, 1984, she becomes the first woman governor general of Canada.

Dec. 8, 1967: A mentally deranged fan, Mark Chapman, shoots and kills Beatles John Lennon at the celebrated British rock singer and composer returns to his New York City residence with his wife, Yoko Ono.

Nov. 14, 1991: Astronauts aboard the space shuttle *Columbia* first activate the Canadians in space, the grappling instrument with the long reach developed in Toronto.

Feb. 15, 1982: The Ocean Ranger, the world's largest semi-submersible oil-drilling rig, explodes in a storm on the Grand Banks off Newfoundland with the loss of all 84 men aboard, 56 of them Newfoundlanders.

Oct. 5 to 13, 1984: Marc Garneau, flying aboard the American space shuttle

Sept. 26, 1985: Lancelotti Alexander, a lawyer and politician from Hamilton, is sworn in as Ontario's lieutenant-governor, the first black person to hold the vice-regal position in Canada. He was also the first black MP (1968-1980) and federal cabinet minister (labour minister, 1979-1980).

Dec. 8, 1987: The Soviet and American leaders, Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, sign the Intermediate Nuclear Forces treaty in Washington, the first international agreement to reduce inventories of nuclear weapons.

June 25, 1993: Vancouverite Kim Campbell is sworn in as the first woman prime minister of Canada. She serves until Nov. 4, 1993.

Aug. 31, 1980: Diana, known worldwide as Princess Di, the ex-wife of Charles, heir to the British throne, dies at age 35 with Egyptian playboy Dodi Fayed in an early-hour, high-speed Paris car crash, pursued by photographers. Di-loving England is convulsed in an emotional display of public grief. The mood soon seems to subside: Diana finally finds trouble in the Royal Family, whose reputation suffers a serious, if impermanent, setback.

Sept. 28, 2000: Pierre Elliott Trudeau, prime minister from 1968 to 1984 (except for a nine-month break in 1979-1980), dies in Montreal.

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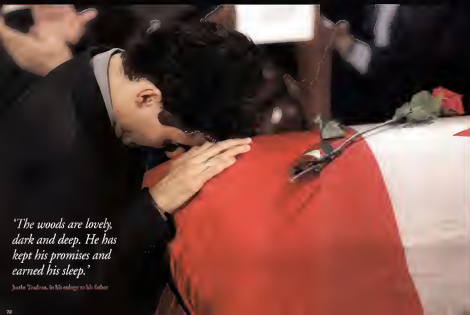
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Inspiration was hard to find in the millennium year—beyond memories of PET

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*"The woods are lovely,
dark and deep. He has
kept his promises and
earned his sleep."*

Justin Trudeau, in his eulogy to his father

By Chris Wood

There was debate about whether it was the auspicious first year of a promising new millennium, or merely the closing-out course of an exhausted old one. Most Canadians simply went along with the moment, enjoyed the fireworks and tried to stop writing "19" on every date. But maybe it would be best if the millennium really has not begun. Because whatever else it was, 2000 was a year that never quite lived up to its giddy beginnings.

Perhaps that was inevitable for a year so dominated by politicians. Its most touching moment came on an October afternoon in old Montreal when Canadians said goodbye to the last leader who had spoken directly to their hearts and minds: Pierre Elliott Trudeau's passing cast an ink relief the keener nature of the contemporary crop of politicians. In a short, bawlsy and busy campaign season afterward, Jean Chrétien secured an electoral prize Trudeau never accomplished, winning a third consecutive majority government. But he failed to rouse the nation's enthusiasm, let alone its passion.

Elsewhere on the federal scene, it was goodbye to Pension Marketing and Reform, hello to the Canadian Alliance and fresh-faced Stockwell Day. In the election's best twist, comic Rick Mercer collected enough signatures on a Web petition to oblige Day, under his party's platform, to call a national referendum on changing his first name to "Dario." Other milestones were more meaningful. British Columbia welcomed Ujjal Dosanjh as the country's first South Asian premier. Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow, whose national role often eclipsed his provincial one, chose retirement.

Ahead, former spy Vladimir Putin replaced beloved Boris Yeltsin as master of the Kremlin, Mexico inaugurated charismatic ex-Coca-Cola executive Vicente Fox as president, ending seven decades of one-



■ In his final years, Pierre Trudeau still loved intellectual debates, social justice and beautiful women. When Canada's most charismatic prime minister died at 80, son Justin delivered a moving eulogy, then paid his final respects (left).

'Mr. Day is past master of reducing arguments to a billboard. I think he must be running for office as some kind of game-show host.'

Conservative Leader Joe Clark, during the election debate

party rule. These smooth transitions of power added to the embarrassment for the world's self-styled beacon of democracy, when America's election ended in a draw between Al Gore and George W. Bush. Even Labour-run Britain disappointed human rights activists, by letting Chile's former dictator Augusto Pinochet go home.

For a moment, 2000 began amid euphoria for high-technology stocks. But the bubble burst in March, and lost more air as the year progressed. As if to demonstrate the vulnerability of the New Economy, a rash of hacker attacks unraveled computers belonging to top Web sites. Pålve charged a Microsoft tree, nicknamed "Mafinboy," to some of the world.

The roller from '99 to '00 was matched by turnover at career offices. Out went Geoff's Michael Cowland (and his burn-boring wife, Marlene). Also gone (sort of) were press houndess Kate Thomson and Conrad Black, who both sold off chains of newspapers. Back was Estem, with a trendy e-flog and a new suit of submachine-gun TV ads. Other notable personnel mergers—mostly in the name of vorticity called convergence. Time Warner and America Online, Canada's Sun Microsystems and France's Vivendi, BCE and just about everything (CTV, The Globe and Mail). But it was a convergence towards chaos that argued passengers struggling with the consequences of the Air Canada-Canadian Airlines merger.

Breakthroughs in science were likewise underwhelming at times. July's Bush that researchers had cracked the human genome turned out not to be quite so the snap his guys, and even its known DNA consists still remain a mystery. This, plus, too, was the failure of an international conference to agree on ways to stem global warming. As if to underline the point, floods swamped England and parts of Europe.

Other scandals had clear human causes. Violence erupted in Zimbabwe and the Middle East as rival failed to bridge divides between black farmers and white. Arabs and Jews. At home, Willemse, Ont.'s deadly scene seemed out to be a scandalous tale of local racism and corruption. For the victims of one of the worst tragedies in Canadian history—the 1985 bombing of an Air India jet carrying 329 people, mostly



Canadians—the year brought at least a promise of justice in multiple homicide charges laid against two British Columbian. But while crime rates were down, a failed attempt on the life of Montreal reporter Michel Auger displayed the brute power of Quebec's black gangs.

Even Hollywood's escapades came with a war note. The Oscar nomination snubbed Canadian Neelam, Jewett's intense portrayal of official injustice. The *Phoenix*. Colin Dine escaped, period—the mind (more or less) to get pregnant.

So with a nod to the unfortunately extensive, perhaps we should in 2000 be only a practice run at the new millennium. Tallying the year's might-have-beens, we could do worse than recall the challenge in Justin Trudeau's eulogy for his father: "It's all up to us, all of us, now."

■ Stockwell Day kicked up a big wake as he won the Canadian Alliance leadership and gained a parliamentary seat in British Columbia, then arrived at his campaign news conference on a Wave Runner. But Jean Charest (right) still scooted to an overwhelming victory in the federal election.



■ The Parliament buildings were the Canadian centre for global celebrations welcoming the year 2000. For most parties—from Tonga around the planet to Hawaii, near by here—it was a new millennium, although parties insisted that doesn't begin until the coming Jan. 1.



Tears, Rage and Turmoil

Once they were quiet places—before the horrific twister, the native-rights battle and the day the water turned out to be lethal



■ The name Burnt Church became an enduring symbol of native-rights struggles. An activist smashed a hurricane near a burnt-out car at the New Brunswick reserve amid protests over anti-Indian raids by federal Fisheries officials. Local Mi'kmaq maintained they had traditional rights to fish lobster out of season in Miramichi Bay, but non-native fishermen—backed by the feds—insisted the traps were illegal.



'Why did this happen? How are we going to stop it? When will it be safe for our kids?'

Linda Dietrich, a Walkerton grandmother



■ Two parents had to bathe their child in the kitchen sink using bottled water after the town in the town of Walkerton, Ont., was revealed. The deadly outbreak of E. coli in the town's drinking water killed seven people, including one child. Hearings later showed there had been scandalous neglect and a coverup by local testing staff.

■ An emergency worker carried four-year-old Cody Lewis from tornado-ravaged Green Acres campground at Pine Lake, Minn. (left). The 300-acre's trailer crushed 12 lives and caused millions of dollars in damage. Green Acres had been a holiday destination for 50 years.

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AP/Wide World

America, America: Divided It Stands



AP/Wide World

It was a presidential campaign year filled with weird politics: Elián went home, Hillary won a Senate seat, and George and Al hung by a chad

"We are right at the cusp of having this spiral out of control"

James Baker, Bush's top aide in the Florida recount battle

■ A SPOT from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service granted six-year-old Elián González from his Miami relatives' home, ending months of debate over whether the Cuban refugee should be sent home with his father. Florida again took political center stage in November. George W. Bush (right) talked through the tension as he watched the upcoming election returns with his parents, former president George, and Barbara.



AP/Wide World



■ As the struggle for victory in the electoral college came down to who won Florida, election officials recounted votes in disputed counties like Broward (above). One thing was sure: a Clinton would still be in office in Washington after Inauguration Day, but it wouldn't be Bill—it would be Senator Hillary of New York (far left).



■ At Gore, Bush's presidential opponent, was regularly told by campaign advisers that he seemed too robotic. So he and wife Tipper indulged in a long, deep kiss at the Democratic convention. But it was not enough: on election day, American voters split right down the middle.

AP/Wide World

Reversal of Fortune

Yugoslavia's tyrant fell, the West Bank erupted and the two Kims brought the two Koreas closer



A Palestinian with Israeli blood on his hands spurred on an angry mob in the West Bank town of Ramallah, where two Israeli soldiers were stabbed to death and a new, undeclared war.



Emboldened Serbs stormed their parliament in Belgrade, ousting strongman Slobodan Milosevic's 13-year reign and clearing the way for opposition leader Vojislav Kostunica.

South Korean President Kim Dae Jung (left, far right) won the Nobel Peace Prize for reaching out to North Korea's Kim Jong Il. The northern leader, blamed for many killings, was not included in the prestigious award.

Pope John Paul II made a year 2000 visit to Israel, Israel and the Palestinian-controlled territories, preaching reconciliation to the Holy Land. "With newfound openness towards one another," he said, "Christians and Jews together must make courageous efforts to remove all forms of prejudice."

'Good evening, liberated Serbia. What we are doing today is making history—democracy has happened.'

Opposition leader, later president, Vojislav Kostunica



'I looked to my left and, to my astonishment, there was an airplane coming right at me. It was a Concorde.'

Willy Couzinois, witness to the first-ever Concorde crash



■ Nearly elected Russian President Vladimir Putin showed off his judo skills in Tokyo, but failed to settle a dispute over four islands off northern Japan. Other Putin setbacks included the Karakul submarine disaster and a tower fire in Moscow.

■ Planes shot from an Air France Concorde at Paris's Charles de Gaulle airport (top right), causing the supersonic jet to crash, killing 113 people. The airline later grounded all its Concordes.

■ Rebels in Sierra Leone (right) stand over the grave of UN peacekeepers, believed to be Nigerian. In May, rebel leader Foday Sankoh was captured and jailed after presiding over a bloody 10-day civil war.



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Glory—and Shame

There was greatness aplenty in an Olympic year, and then there was that ugly whack



■ Golfer Jean van Marck sprayed Lorie Kase with beer on the 18th green after Kase won the Mitchell Light Classic at the Fox Run Golf Club in St. Louis. Mr. Kase had what some observers say was the best year ever by a Canadian golfer, winning three Ladies Professional Golf Association titles and earning about \$2 million in prizes and endorsements.

■ He came from behind, but Simon Whitfield (right) crossed the British 500 first in the men's biathlon to collect Canada's first gold medal of the 2000 Summer Olympic Games in Sydney, Australia. "I've dreamed of this my entire life," said Whitfield. "I can't tell you how proud I am to be Canadian."



'With 20 seconds left, I'm the only guy going on. Just me. It became obvious I was out there to confront Donald.'

Former Brain Marty McSorley



■ In winning the British Open, Tiger Woods became the youngest golfer to make a career grand slam of major titles.

■ NHL enforcer Marty McSorley was convicted of assault with a weapon for clubbing Donald Brashear (top), but escaped jail with a conditional discharge.

■ Wrestler Quaker (left) earned hearts with a giddy gold-medal performance at the Sydney Games.



Ranting and Raves

The youth of the nation loved 'Joe,' Harry and dancing all night



Young fans in Toronto were swept along in the frenzy surrounding Harry Potter mania. The re-purposing of education for the mythical wizard created by author J.K. Rowling followed the phenomenally successful release of *Harry Potter and the Goblet of Fire*.

Ravers danced feverishly (top right) amid growing concerns over the increased use of the potent feel-good drug ecstasy. While the kids endorsed their love culture, authorities warned of rising deaths.

Maybe it was only a beer commercial, but something about "Joe" grabbed Canadians (right). In style, then proudly, proclaiming his nationality, Joe and his "I am Canadian!" crew spawned dozens of road-signs and sold a lot of beer for Molson Inc.



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Surviving Television

Reality bit too hard, but it still had *Grace*



♦ **Darva Conger** tied the knot with **Rob Rockwell** on *Who Wants to Marry a Multi-Millionaire?*, auditioned the men, and ended up with *Playboy*.

♦ **Survivor** dived TV viewers with a vengeful look at how tribe members like **Jenna** (top screen), bonded and voted each other off a tropical island.

♦ **Comedian Eric McCormack** (far left), with sidekick **Sean Hayes**, starred as the gay lead in the hit *Will and Grace*, winning TV's acceptance of homosexuals.

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Convergence was the buzzword when communications titan Ted Turner [right] celebrated his purchase of the Blue Jays baseball team with Toronto Mayor Mel Lastman (center) and Paul Godfrey, the Jays' new chief executive. The Jays were part of the drive for "convergence" that also led CarWest (left) to buy Ruffalo newspapers and BCE Inc. to pick up CTV and The Globe and Mail.

It's All in the Game

The money game, that is: Canadian tycoons converged, tech stocks whipsawed and Napster came of age



■ The world's richest man had a tough year. A federal judge ruled that Microsoft was a monopoly and should be split in two, and tech stocks crashed. But Bill Gates was undaunted—the case is under appeal, and he's still very rich.

talk about pyrrhic victories. The music industry was a massive copyright suit against Napster founder Shawn Fanning (right), hated by bands like Metallica for his online music-sharing software. But even German media giant Bertelsmann AG decided it couldn't beat Fanning, and would side him.



A driveway ornament? A status symbol?
Please. That was 19th-century stuff.



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Hail and Farewell

From the Rocket to the Giant, there were big shoes left to fill



Sir Alex Colville, 88, British stage and Hollywood actor (*Bridge on the River Kwai*, *Star Wars*)

Sir John Gielgud, 94, British Shakespearean and later Hollywood actor (*Shogun*, *Arthur*)

Steve Allen, 76, comedian, writer, composer and first host of TV's *Tonight Show*

Charles Schulz, 77, creator of the *Peanuts* comic strip

Helen Reddy, 69, feminist president of *Spens* for 29 years

The West End Lord Robert Balfour, 78, moderately liberal 182nd Archbishop of Canterbury

John Morris Randle, 40, eldest member of the Cage Breton Celtic singing trio *Roslin Family*

Doug Henning, 52, flashy Whimsical magician

John Colicos, 71, Canadian stage and screen actor

Heidi Dore, 85, country music legend from Liverpool, N.S.

Marlene Shalman, 75, millenarian former *Spaceman* caller who inspired TV's *Wipeout*

Sheldon Tennett, 84, former CBC TV correspondent and news anchor

Clare Booth, 84, former president of the University of Toronto and at Carleton University

Alex Wilson, 63, Quebec born poet and novelist

Sandra Gey, 65, Newfoundland-born author and journalist

Stanley Liffin, 89, long founding president of the Canadian Union of Public Employees

J. Angus MacLean, 85, former Conservative cabinet minister and Prime Minister's advisor

E. Bruce Palmer, 84, former Supreme Court justice

Boris Yeltsin, 52, Canadian stage and film actress (*Whisper in White*)

Bruce Wicks, 73, British-born Canadian cartoonist (*The Outcasts*)

Louis Quilley, 75, internationally acclaimed Canadian cartoonist

Doreen Barbara Corbett, 76, top-selling British romance novelist

Alex Cowling, 80, author of the 1972 groundbreaker *The Joy of Sex*

Shirley Beddard, 84, world's first female jockey member of *Colony*, born in Sri Lanka

Robert Trent Jones, 93, pioneering golf course designer

Douglas Fairbanks Jr., 90, nakid screen star of the 1930s

Clayton Moore, 65, played *Ti's* Lone Ranger

Henry Marshall, 71, played *The Simpsons'* vindictive mailman and *Lois Lane's* elegant publisher

Loretta Young, 87, star of TV's *The Loretta Young Show*

Gina Venturi, 79, Broadway and Hollywood dancer (*Damn Yankees!*)

Doris Merrick, 58, Broadway producer (*Heidi*, *Daddy's*, *Oliver!*)



RED LAMAR, 86, screen goddess and wartime liberator of a wireless system used today by Calgary high-tech firm *W-LAN*

WALTER MATTHEW, 79 (top right), *The Old Currier's* grocery store

SANDRA SCHMIDT, 90 (right), *Officer* who won *Three World* titles and Olympic gold

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Bourassa (right) with Varrell (standing) and Varrell: "This is about breaking down the barriers that divide people."

Marriage Vows

Canada's gays and lesbians are mounting a strong fight for the legal right to be wed

By John Nicol

Joe and Kevin, Anne and Elaine have rings signifying their bonds: the man's white gold and blue sapphires, the woman's white gold encrusted with rose-well-chasing another diamond. Looking through their wedding albums, they eagerly point to friends and family who made it to their special days, and express regret over those who couldn't. They can describe in detail what they wore and what the weather and music were like. They have everything—except legal marriage licenses making their gay unions legal. In August, 1993, Kevin Bourassa, 42, exchanged vows with Joe Varrell, 51, just as Elaine Vasseur, 43, did with

Anne Vasseur, 38, a year later (Anne had legally changed her last name before the ceremony). On Jan. 14, the four friends plan to do it all over again in a double wedding at a Toronto evangelical church—and use an Ontario law to challenge 134-year-old federal legislation that denies their marriage legal status. There is no guarantee they will succeed, but as Elaine, a theology student who works at a Toronto homeless shelter says, "It needs to be done."

At stake for the two couples is the removal of what they feel is the last impediment to the acceptance of gays by the greater community. Their method of achieving that goal—into recognized marriage for gays—is the old Christian tradition of banns, the public announcement of an impending marriage. Both couples are in the midst of having their intention to marry read out in the Metropolitan Community Church of Toronto on three successive Sundays (founded in Los Angeles in 1968, the church's congregation are mostly gay). If that is done without challenge, says Ontario law, they can be wed and issued marriage licenses. But if opponents refuse to register the marriage, their double wedding ceremony will join

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17 other legal challenges to federal legislation that does not recognize same-sex unions. "There is no doubt that all the challenges will end up in the Supreme Court of Canada," says Barbara Findlay, a Vancouver lawyer and lesbian activist who is representing three of the couples. Findlay insists that the denial of marriage rights to same-sex partners violates Canada's Charter of Rights and Freedoms. "It's hard



Anne (left) and Elaine Vintner at home. "In Canada, we should be free to choose."

to think of a way it can be justified in a free society," she says. Opponents to gay marriage, though, aren't about to concede defeat. For one thing, church ceremony and marriage license notwithstanding, they must subsequently be registered with the provincial government. And Ontario Conservative Minister Bob Runciman says that isn't about to happen—the marriage will not "qualify to be registered because of the federal legislation." Peter Schonenbach, general secretary of the Canadian Conference of Catholic Bishops, maintains that legal, philosophical, religious and social traditions have reinforced marriage "as a public commitment between a man and a woman." But Bourassa, a manager at the CBC's Toronto head office, counters that "marriage is an institution about love, respect and trust. Everybody can understand love. This is about people trying to join their lives together. I hope people are beginning to see beyond this being two men and two women."

Succeeding in this case, the two couples believe, will help younger gays who are struggling to accept their sexuality. Elaine said she was once engaged to marry a man, but could not go through with it because it would have meant living a lie, as many gays have done, just to conform to society's standards. "Wouldn't it make life easier for a lot of people if they could marry the person they love?" she asked, sitting in her spare room overlooking Toronto's skyline. "In some countries, your spouse for life is chosen for you. In Canada, we should be free to choose." Anne, a day-care worker and professional home organizer, says she was raised to meet public expectations. "When I was growing up, I'd say, 'If I get married, and my mother would say, 'When you get married,'" she recalls. Now she's getting married, but her mother, while generally supportive, reacted to that notion "with silence." Asis Varnell, an freelance co-ordinator for Story of Canada Ltd., "This is about breaking down the barriers that divide people, showing that there's not that much difference between all of us."

Rev. Brent Hawken, the pastor who will perform the double wedding, says that unless someone can make a valid objection—that one or more of the four could not be wed because they are either underage, already married or too close a rela-

tive to their prospective spouse—he will marry the couples and take their certificates to be registered (the Ontario Marriage Act states that anyone—it does not regulate sexual orientation—can be married by someone eligible to perform marriage, such as Hawken). "Runciman has said they won't register them," says Hawken, who was raised a Baptist but, because he was gay, had to pursue a ministry with another church. "Hopefully, sane minds will prevail when they check with their lawyers—we have strong legal grounds." Hawken has been attacked by conservative critics. But he says the Metropolitan Community Church is thriving—for a reason. "People are leaving traditional churches because of their archaic positions," he explains. "You can't have a hierarchy of a gay man attending a church where the bishop circulates a letter opposing legislation favouring equality for gays and lesbians."

Both the federal Liberals and the opposition Canadian Alliance stand behind the legislation defining a legal marriage as a union between a man and a woman. Others support those views. Schonenbach, who speaks for Canada's Roman Catholic bishops, told Macdonald he does not want to "back homosexuals." But in their submission

earlier this year to a parliamentary committee studying the issue of same-sex benefits, the conference of bishops said that "marriage should be the preserve of heterosexual couples." Schonenbach concedes that there is anecdotal evidence to prove some gays would make good parents if they adopted children. But, he adds, "it is not the norm. For the stability of family and nurturing of children, the Judeo-Christian tradition favours a man and a wife."

Meanwhile, the two couples say they have received mostly words of encouragement. They are concerned that their double wedding may become a circus complete with media and protesters. But, says Bourassa, "If you're gay, you're used to fighting for freedom." Elaine Vintner equates their quest to the plight of the wolf, an animal that decorates their apartment in many motifs and was an object of fascination for both her and Anne even before they met. "They're kooky, they make for life, they hang out in packs," she says. And, she adds, "they have been misrepresented—for so many years." ■



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Celine reveals more

In a Quebec TV interview, Celine Dion, 32, disclosed she has a frozen embryo that she intends to have implanted in the future. Dion, seven months pregnant with a boy through in vitro fertilization, said another egg fertilized by her husband-manager, René Angélil, at the same time is in New York City, awaiting implantation. "I'll go get it, that's for sure," Dion said she promised her mother.

Help for the Innu

Health Minister Allan Rock and the Innu of Davis Inlet reached an agreement on a plan to offer long-term addiction treatment to both adults and children. Last week, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien and the Liberal government would work to eradicate "Third World conditions" on reserves.

The smoke clears

Dustin Arsenault of Victoria will be allowed to travel to Arizona with his mother after all. His father, Jason, had refused to grant permission for the trip unless his former common-law wife, Elizabeth Horvath, agreed not to smoke. Horvath, who has joint custody of Dustin, finally agreed that she and her boyfriend would not light up in the car during the vacation, and that was good enough for provincial court judge Wayne Smith.

Taking it to the courts

Toronto writer Naja Medelka served notice that he will sue Anne Stone, who worked as a freelance editor on his award-winning memoir, *Notes from the Heart of the Mountain of My Childhood*. Medelka, who won the 2000 Governor General's Award for non-fiction for his book, has been embroiled in an ugly public dispute with Stone over authorship. The libel notice takes issue with Stone's claim that she writes a substantial amount of the book. It also disputes her allegations that an earlier, unpublished Medelka work involving a plot to murder several professors at McGill University was "renewed as well—and not fiction." The implication that Mr. Medelka plotted to murder his professors is false," the notice says.



Trying to preserve a Canadian relic

The St. Roch II, an RCMP patrol boat, arrived in Victoria on Dec. 31 after a 24,000-nautical-mile circumnavigation of North America. The journey was organized to raise \$3 million to preserve the original St. Roch—built in 1960 because the first ship to make such a voyage—but brought in only \$2.1 million. The original vessel is currently on display in the Vancouver Maritime Museum.

A new year without a federal budget

The annual budget early in the year has long been a fixture on Canada's federal political landscape. But in 2001, Jean Chrétien's newly elected government will dispense with that tradition, according to Finance Minister Paul Martin. In a statement issued last week, Martin said the government simply plans to put into effect the tax cuts and spending initiatives promised in the October main-budget released just prior to the general election. "The

bottom line is that all Canadians, especially families with children, will have more money in their pockets," the finance minister said in a written statement.

The October mini-budget contained across-the-board reductions to tax rates, which will save Canadians \$35 billion, while previously announced cuts will bring the savings to \$100 billion—all over five years. The new rates go into effect on Jan. 1, but they will be offset by higher Canada Pension Plan premiums, which are collected in the first six months of the year.

A teacher-student summer of love

A jury of nine women and three men deliberated just 90 minutes last week before acquitting former Alberta teacher Jocelyn Jansz, 28, of sexual exploitation for having an affair in 1998 with a then 17-year-old student, Jason, whose licence has since been revoked, was teaching in the northeast Alberta town of St. Paul and going through a divorce when he became involved with the youth. They spent a summer together, having sex in her car and home, but the affair ended after Jansz became pregnant (she later miscarried). The student is currently suing Jansz, the school principal and the school board.

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Canada Notes

Ethnic uproar

A flame engulfed over remarks by Yves Michaud, a prominent member of the Parti Québécois, about Quebec's Jewish community. During his appearance before the Tasman General, a government commission examining the status of the French language in Quebec, Michaud said Jews were an "obstacle" to Quebec's independence in the last referendum, and complained of their "refusal" to support the sovereignty of the Quebec people. Michaud, who is not a sitting politician but has said he intends to run in a spring by-election, later went on to call on the B'nai B'rith to "re-examine themselves for being so anti-Quebec." The national assembly voted unanimously to condemn Michaud. But the uproar again illustrated the PQ's often uneasy relationship with minorities in Quebec. In 1995, then-governor Jacques Parizeau went so far as to blame the sovereignty referendum loss on "money and the ethnic vote."

Ruling for erotica

'Excessive and unnecessary prudishness'—that was how the Supreme Court of Canada summed up Canada Customs' treatment of Little Sisters Book and Art Emporium in Vancouver. The case involved around gay and lesbian erotica imported by the store but deemed by customs agents to be obscene and regularly seized at the border. While the 5-3 Supreme Court ruling did not overturn legislation that allows customs agents to seize material, it did reach the burden of proof from the importers to the government. Previously, Canada Customs could hold material and then dispose of it if the importer failed to prove it was not obscene. Now, the government will be able to hold items for only 30 days, and then must hand them over if it cannot meet its case. Justice Iacobucci, manager of Little Sisters, and the court decision was an "incredible indictment" of Canada Customs' "unconscionable tyranny at the border."



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Victory at Last

By Andrew Phillips in Washington

Expect to hear a lot over the next few weeks about Bob Bullock, a legendary Texas Democrat who plays a key role in the George W. Bush Official Mythology. When Bush was first running to be governor in 1994, Bullock was the state's powerful lieutenant governor and the key power broker in its legislature. Bush knew he could get little done without Bullock's co-operation, so three weeks before the election he went to the older man's home and told him: "I've have to tell you that I want to work with you." After Bush won, the Republican governor and the Democratic lieutenant did forge a successful partnership—one that allowed Bush to take credit for a string of reforms that he used to demonstrate his readiness for the White House.

The story is dear to Bush supporters, who use it to proof that their man has what it takes to unite bitter rivals and heal old wounds. Bush himself invoked the name of Bullock (who died in 1999) last week as he stood in the chamber of the De-

mocratic-controlled Texas House of Representatives to address Americans for the first time as their president-elect. Exactly an hour earlier, Vice-President Al Gore had finally bowed to the inevitable and gracefully conceded defeat. Now, Bush implicitly promised, he would do for the United States what he did for Texas—reach out to his opponents. Five weeks of reconciling and reconciliation would give way to reconciliation and renewal. "I was not elected to serve one party," he pledged, "but to serve one nation."

Good luck. The Bullock story, like so many others in Bush's improbable rise to power, conceals in itself as it reveals. Gore Bush had to deal with a state legislature that meets only every two years for a session limited to 140 days, and a Democratic party dominated by old-style conservatives (like Bullock) who would be well to the right of Republicans in many parts of the country. President Bush will take office in noon on Jan. 20 on the steps of a Congress divided and assen by round-

George W. Bush finally captures the U.S. presidency after a turbulent and divisive post-election battle that lasted 36 days

the clock ideological warfare. The Democrats will face an decidedly not the go-along, run-as-dead types he so successfully charmed back home.

Just as bad, right-wingers in his own party may quickly become impatient if Bush does stick to the middle. The politics of personal persuasion, he may quickly find, don't go all that far in a capital better known for tear-out-the-throat attack politics. "The Democrats are going to be like sharks," warns Alan Lichman, an expert on the presidency at American University in Washington. "They're going to be swimming slowly for a while, but as soon as their very blood from Bush in the water, there will be a feeding frenzy."

Still, soothing words about unity and co-operation were clearly what Americans wanted to hear after a year-long elec-

tion that all his adult life, would not be his. This campaign put out the word: the vice-president would speak that night. By awkward coincidence, a Christmas party for 300 supporters (Whoopi Goldberg, among them) had been scheduled weeks earlier at his residence. It was too late to cancel, so the vice-president soldiered through it. Then he went out into the night to formally end his quest for the White House.

He did it in fine style. Gore managed to strike a note that was both self-deprecating and dignified, a combination he never seemed to find during the campaign itself. He acknowledged Bush's right to claim the White House and promised his support despite the bitterness of losing the presidency through a decision by a Supreme Court split clearly along ideological lines. "While I strongly disagree with the Supreme Court's decision," said Gore, "I accept it. I accept the finality of the outcome. What awaits of partisan enmity must now be put aside."

But nothing could hide the fact that Bush will always be "President America"—the man who won the office on a technicality, whose victory hangs on the slenderest of threads. The validity of his court-mandated victory in Florida will be questioned for years to come, he won the electoral college by a single vote more than the bare majority needed, and he lost the nationwide popular vote by 537,576 votes.

Only three other men won the presidency while losing the overall vote—and historians have been quick to recall that all three served a single, troubled term in office. The first of them, John Quincy Adams in 1824, was also the only other son of a president to win the office himself. Bush, clearly, must bear the odium—a tall order for a man who turned scrutiny to politics only in his teens and who won barely the perception that he was an empty suit, propped up by Republican heavyweights and his father's old lieutenants. The road to his eventual victory only made a tough job more difficult. The campaign itself, though inevitably partisan, was not particularly divisive. The candidates were unimpressive, few but the most partisan voters found much to fight about. Instead, it was the unprecedented 35-day recount circus in Florida that inflamed passions. And the final scene of the play with the U.S. Supreme Court first intervening in dramatic style to stop another effort to count disputed ballots, and then finally crushing Gore's remaining chance at victory, left a bitter taste.

There were few hopes that the high court would allow a recount when it met on Dec. 11 to hear 90 minutes of oral arguments in *Bush v. Gore*, Case No. 00-961. Two days earlier, had worked all his adult life, would not be his. This campaign put out the word: the vice-president would speak that night. By awkward coincidence, a Christmas party for 300 supporters (Whoopi Goldberg, among them) had been scheduled weeks earlier at his residence. It was too late to cancel, so the vice-president soldiered through it. Then he went out into the night to formally end his quest for the White House.



Gore giving his concession speech. Bush (opposite) the message was that weeks of reconstructing and reconstruction would now give way to reconciliation and renewal

election campaign—plus the uncorrupted fight over ballot irregularities by the photo finish in Florida. The back-to-back speeches by Gore and Bush capped an extraordinary six days that saw Gore's hopes momentarily revived by one Supreme Court (the one in Florida), then finally dashed by another (the one in Washington). The man who had hoped to arrive in the White House as a healing "uniter, not a divider," promising to "change the tone in Washington," instead found himself warning only after a legal do-or-die that he more divisive than the ideologically campaign.

The arena was not good, although Gore did his part to repair the breach. After taking a night to digest the Supreme Court's confusing but ultimately devastating ruling, he made his decision. The presidency, the job for which he had been groomed from childhood by his senator father, for which he

Bush must now deal with a Congress riven by round-the-clock partisan warfare

the court had split 5 to 4, between its conservative majority and its moderate-to-liberal minority, and ordered an immediate halt to a recount authorized by the more liberal Florida Supreme Court. The complex arguments came down to an essential choice: would the federal court decide that manual recounts amounted to an illegal change in the rules of the election after the votes were cast (as the Bush team argued), or would it rule that a recount could be done to make sure that all votes were tallied (as Gore's lawyers contended)?

In the end, the court split again along its ideological fault line. Anyone who had hoped that the Supreme Court might be able to resolve an issue that had already troubled state courts and the Florida legislature and threatened to spill over into Congress was sure to be disappointed. The five most conservative judges—Chief Justice William Rehnquist, along with justices Antonin Scalia, Anthony Kennedy, Sandra Day O'Connor and Clarence Thomas—ruled on Dec. 12 against any further recounting of the contested Florida ballot. It came down, they said, to the fact that there was no clear standard for deciding when a voter had marked a punch card for Gore or for Bush—and that would violate the clause in the constitution guaranteeing "equal protection" to all citizens.

Further, they ruled, prolonging the count beyond Dec. 12 would throw doubt on the validity of the presidential elections selected by Florida because of a federal law prohibiting election from challenge if they are chosen by that day. As a result, the five judges wrote, "it is obvious that the count cannot be conducted in compliance with the requirement of equal protection and due process." The bottom line: no more recounts. Bush would be the victor in Florida by a margin of just 537 votes out of an million statewide.

Gore supporters were outraged—and they needed to look no further for ammunition than the series of blistering dissenting opinions issued by the four judges who found themselves in the minority. Ironically, it was the liberal majority that ended up leaving the conservative majority free to fill in to respect the authority of a state court—a traditional con-

servative position. Justice John Paul Stevens, appointed in 1975 by President Gerald Ford, accused the five-member majority of effectively disenfranchising voters whose choices were not registered during machine counts of the ballot. And, he wrote, the court showed no confidence in the state judges who would be called on to oversee any new recount. "Although we may never know with complete certainty the identity of the winner of this year's presidential election, the identity of the loser is perfectly clear. It is the nation's confidence in the judge as an impartial guardian of the rule of law."

Justice David Souter, another liberal, appended in 1999 by the new president-elect's fishes, underlined the paradox involved in the court's first halting the recount—and then ruling that it could not continue because time had run out: "If this court had allowed the case to follow the course indicated by the opinions of its own Supreme Court, it is scarcely possible that there would ultimately have been no issue require



Outside the U.S. Supreme Court a decision along ideological lines

ing our review, and political tension could have worked itself out in Congress."

The ruling may have shattered any illusion that the up court is above the partisan fray. Critics of the conservative majority found even more to fuel their concerns in reports that one of Scalia's law firms was the Washington law firm that argued Bush's case before the Supreme Court, while Thomas' wife is at a right-wing think tank in the capital, helping to recruit prospective members of a new Bush administration. It all looked too convenient, though Thomas told high-school students this morning, after the controversial ruling that he has never heard his fellow judges discuss partisan politics. "Don't try to apply the rules of the political world to this institution," he said. "They do not apply."

Wherever the doubts surrounding his election, the newly anointed president-elect had to turn immediately to two priorities: people and policy. A new administration must fill some 6,000 jobs, including several hundred senior positions

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that must be confirmed by the Senate. Doubts over the outcome in Florida made it awkward for Bush to publicly announce his appointments—and impossible to begin the lengthy background and security checks needed to get a new administration in place by Jan. 20. But that changed quickly with the naming of retired general Colin Powell as secretary of state, four days after the Supreme Court decision. Condoleezza Rice, a foreign policy veteran of the previous Bush administration, is most expected to be named national security adviser. They would be the most senior African-Americans appointed to any U.S. cabinet—a move that might help Bush among black voters, who opposed him on election day by a whipping size to one.

When he does take office, Bush will have to decide how to best use his small stock of political capital. Right-wingers in his own party are champing at the bit. Tom DeLay, the ultraconservative Republican whip in the House of Representatives, said recently that he had been writing this whole life to have his party control the White House as well as both houses of Congress (Republicans have a very slight edge in the House, and the tie in the Senate can be broken by

The president will take office with a very small pool of political capital

may be able to find allies among Democrats. And rather than push ahead with a massive tax cut, as he proposed during the campaign, he is more likely to start with something more modest, such as doing away with the federal inheritance tax.

Expectations could hardly be lower—questionable legitimacy, a divided Congress, even a slowing economy. Of course, low expectations may be the best thing Bush has going for him. He likes to remind people that he has always been underestimated, even by his parents, who earlier put their White House hopes on his smarter, more collegial brother, Jeb, now governor of Florida. In the best of circumstances, George W. Bush was unlikely to be a great president. Now, with so many obvious handicaps, even modest achievements may be greeted as major triumphs. ■

Article

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Andrew Phillips

Dubya will be looking south

So it turns out George W. Bush knows his about Canada after all—at least the bit of it visible from the luxury boxes at Toronto's SkyDome. When he was part-owner of the Tampa Bay Rays in the early 1990s, he occasionally visited the city to watch his team play the Blue Jays.

That nagged emerged during a phone call between the newly anointed president-elect and Prime Minister Jean Chrétien, who called his work to offer congratulations. It's not much, but for those who worry about such things it's the first positive sign of Bush's interest in Canada. Much had been made about the fact that Bush did not phone Chrétien after his election on Nov. 27, even though he did find time to congratulate Vicente Fox on his inauguration as president of Mexico. Some even feared that it was the Prime Minister's Office's whole 14 hours to issue the obligatory good wishes to Bush after Al Gore's concession speech. Wasn't that descending along with Americans call the "northern border?"

Of course, Canada is always concerned about being overlooked by the big boy next door, and it's plain that Bush has other priorities. He made a major speech in Ottawa last August entitled "Century of the Americas," laying out his vision in the Western Hemisphere. It was on for 72 paragraphs, and in only three did Canada rise even a passing mention. The rest was devoted to the cultural glories and economic promise of Latin America. A Bush campaign official who knows Canada made it clear that it wasn't easy to get even that much about the United States' biggest trading partner into the speech. "We did manage to get in a couple of nods to Canada," he told me later. Got, that's all.

That's hardly a disaster. As governor of a southern border state, one that was actually part of Mexico until 1836 and has a big Mexican-American minority, Bush quite naturally looks south. He assumes claims to foreign expertise rests almost entirely on dealings with Mexican government and interests. Aside from that, and his baseball foray in Toronto, he's shown remarkable little interest in "abroad." He's been outside the United States precisely three times—to China while his father was U.S. envoy there; to independence celebrations in the Caribbean during the first Bush administration; and to the Middle East in 1998 with other U.S. governors.

That's not much for a supposedly sophisticated man of 54.

Canada has long counted on a special relationship with Washington, and the male-bonding contacts between leaders are all part of it. From Mulroney's famous fist-bump with the first president Bush, and Chrétien's last golf with Bill Clinton. This is easy to mock, but hard to mimic. Access to the president is the most precious commodity in Washington. What other foreign leader gets a few private-sector hours with him on a semi-regular basis? Approximately . . . none. Unfortunately, W. favors running, a witty, solitary pastime. No wonder Chrétien brushed up on his baseball trivia.

And no wonder Ottawa is so sensitive to the perception that it would have been happier with a President Gore than a President Bush. It's probably true: Canadians generally do not vote as easily with Democrats than with Republicans. And some Bush campaign officials were just out when former ambassador Raymond Chrétien was reported last summer as liking publicly to Gore. The ambassador or actually did not such thing—but it didn't help.

So there will be disappointment as Bush indulges his fascination for danger zones. Right now, there is an exciting new leader with a bold vision of democracy and economic growth. And Hispanics, 20 million of them, are the fastest-growing U.S. minority group. Suched Republicans, who run more things in Washington, are usually more of their growing class. Canada, by contrast, is pretty much just there.

In fact, relations between Ottawa and Washington have seldom been so placid—though a handful of narrow calls shake that up. Bush focuses opening up a sensitive wilderness area on the Alaska-Yukon border for oil exploration, something Canada opposes. He supports a Sea of Cortez trade dispute, also opposed by Ottawa. And there are always trade spats, like the softwood lumber dispute that threatens to erupt again next spring. Those aren't enough to fundamentally shake a relationship so important to both sides. But for a while at least, Canada will have to watch while Bush and Fox cozy up. Both have agendas, both like to wear big hats and hang around longer. No one has a when he has been found a new executive playmate—but there's not much Ottawa can do about it. Dubya's Washington will look south.



Chrétien with Clinton, now U.S. priorities

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What happens when the power of a technology and a person collide?

ALL OVER THE WORLD, PEOPLE ARE harnessing the power of the Internet through wireless networks. And it's changing the way people live, work and play.

In Europe, business travelers can book airline tickets and confirm reservations on their cell-phone screens. In Japan, cell-phone users are uploading their photographs to wireless networks, so that their pictures pop up on their friends' cell-phone screens when they call. In Canada, people conduct routine banking and investment management from Internet-ready cell phones.

We're in the early days of this revolution, but it's gathering momentum. According to a survey conducted during 2000 by Decima Research for the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association (CWTa), 4% of Canadian wireless subscribers use their phone for e-mail and 3% use it to access the Web. But people who use these services use them heavily. Those who use their phones for e-mail receive seven messages and send four messages each week. Those who use their phones to access the Web do so 24 times a week on average.

In Canada, the 2000 Christmas shopping season made a turning point for mobile Internet. "A lot of the phones sold during the holiday season are capable of being connected to the Net, so there will be a lot more awareness of this feature," notes CWTa president Peter Barnes.

Today's Internet-ready mobile phones access the Internet via networks designed primarily for voice. But new third-generation (3G) high-speed networks, designed to carry both voice and data, will be deployed in Canada starting in 2002, says David Neale, vice-president of new product development at Rogers AT&T Wireless. Early trials will begin in

2001. These new networks will be broadly available by the middle of the decade.

"When that happens, you have to stop thinking of mobile handsets as phones," Neale says. "Instead, you think of them as access points or communication."

Other parts of the world are getting there first. "The number of mobile Internet users will overtake fixed Internet users by 2005," predicts Mark Henderson, chief operating officer for Ericsson Canada Inc.

The mobile Internet will offer new opportunities for businesses to reach customers, and new opportunities for business colleagues to collaborate. Mobile professionals will be able to access corporate resources from handheld devices. Merchants will be able to send promotional material to regular shoppers who are near their stores. Consumers will be able to find parking meters using their mobile phones. Tourists will be able to tap their cell-phone screens to book theatre tickets and locate restaurants.

"A new value chain is emerging here: the blending of wireless access and content tailored for mobile devices," Henderson says. "The enterprises that master this will be the ones who win at this game. Starting now, you have to be moving in that space." Three years ago, when Ericsson preached its mobile Internet message to business executives, there were a lot of people shaking their heads. "Now we're seeing a lot more people nodding their heads," Henderson notes.

Of course, voice communications remains the primary application for mobile phones. Wireless will soon replace wireline as the primary vehicle for voice communications. By 2002, there will be a billion wireless subscribers

worldwide—more than the number of fixed-line subscribers.

In Canada, there are eight million wireless subscribers, out of a population

Late to the Game North America is trailing Japan and Europe into the wireless era



of 30 million. The CWTa predicts that 58% of Canadians will have a mobile phone by the end of 2005. In the 2000 CWTa/Decima Research survey, 17%

WITH MOST NEW TECHNOLOGY, North America leads and the rest of the world follows. North Americans were the first to embrace the Internet. Cell-phone technology appeared in North America before it arrived on other continents. But Europe and Japan have kept ahead in their use of wireless technology. Mobile-phone penetration in

Western Europe is 47.5%, compared to 25% in Canada, notes Megan Dart, director of business strategy at Ericsson Canada Inc. Part of the explanation lies in the way telephone services are billed. In Europe, mobile subscribers don't pay for incoming calls; the caller pays. And there's less incentive to wait for access to a fixed-line phone in Europe, because local calls are metered.

Because Japanese services are more expensive than those in North America, mobile-phone penetration and usage is lower in Japan. But Japan is ahead of North America in mobile Internet service. NTT DoCoMo, the leading wireless provider in Japan, launched a mobile Internet service called iMode in February 1999. By August 2000, 11.4 million of NTT DoCoMo's 33.7 million subscribers had purchased iMode phones. NTT DoCoMo was adding over a million new subscribers a month. At this pace, iMode's subscriber base could overtake America Online's within two years, comments Condo Suisse First Boston Securities (Capgem) Ltd. in a report on NTT DoCoMo.

Subscribers are using iMode for fun

and respondents said they were "very likely" or "somewhat likely" to replace their wireline service, and go completely wireless.

applications, online games, and more serious pursuits, such as mobile banking, airline reservations, buying concert tickets and getting news updates.

In Sweden, the Amadeus travel-bookings system, operated by SAS and KLM, lets air travelers check flight, book tickets, arrange rental cars and confirm their holiday plans. In the UK, Virgin has a service that lets people purchase soft drinks from vending machines using their mobile phones. Last April, Ericsson and Telenor Mobil launched a service that lets Norwegian users purchase concert tickets using their mobile phones—and avoid long waits in phone queues.

But chaotic micropayment services similar to those being deployed by Virgin and Telenor Mobil could be a hit. "Canada has the highest usage of debit cards in the world," she notes. "We're amenable to working without cash, but we'll have to wait to see how this translates to mobile."

About the time iMode was launched, Bell Mobility introduced its Mobile Internet service in Canada. Mobile Internet uses the regular digital PCS mobile-phone network. This is a circuit-switched network expanded primarily for voice, so it keeps a connection open for the entire time that users are online. Users have to initiate browsing sessions, which are billed on a per-minute basis—even while they're just reading or staring at an homepage icon.

By contrast, iMode is a packet-switched network. On packet networks, data and digitized voice are moved around



as they climb. Mobile Internet services can be left on all the time, and users can be billed for the data they send and receive, rather than for the time they're connected. European wireless providers began deploying wireless packet networks in 2000. Wireless packet-switched networks don't can be used for both voice and data will arrive in Canada in 2001.

The first packet networks in North America will use 2.5G technology—a halfway house between digital PCS voice networks (2G) and advanced high-speed 3G networks. On 2.5G networks, down-

load speed is similar to a 1G dial-up modem, whereas 3G speeds began at 384 kilobits. NTT DoCoMo will launch a 3G service in 2001 and licenses for 3G networks have been granted in many European countries.

"We're two years behind Japan and a year behind Europe," Beam observes. That's not necessarily a bad thing, comments Mark Henderson, chief operating officer at Ericsson Canada. By being late into the game, North American businesses get to learn from the experience of European and Japanese pioneers.

North American consumers and service providers benefit by economies of scale already established in overseas markets. "In the past, things have worked in the opposite direction," Henderson says.

The Strategy Group expects Europe and Asia to maintain an early lead in high-speed mobile services. The Washington-based communications consulting firm says Western Europe will account for 56% of the worldwide 3G subscriber base by 2007, making it the larger 3G market. The Asia Pacific region will account for 34% of the 3G market.

Kids Just Wanna Have Fun

All around the world, the youth market is jumping onto the mobile Internet.

IN OTHER PARTS OF THE WORLD, the youth market has adapted wireless the way North American youth have adapted the Internet.

In Europe, especially Scandinavia, sending short text messages over mobile phones is so popular that the phones have been banned from some schools. Short message service (SMS) capability is built into the GSM mobile phone system used throughout Europe. Europeans send one billion SMS messages a month on their mobile phones. In Canada, SMS is available on Microsoft's Pda network, which uses GSM technology, and the Rogers AT&T network.

A wildly popular application on NTT DoCoMo's iMode in Japan is a game where users pay to download game characters, then match them against characters downloaded by other players. Another hot application is a service that lets you store your photograph on the iMode network. When you call other iMode users, your picture is displayed on their screen.

For North America, the killer application could be a mobile version of Internet instant messaging applications like ICQ

and MSN Messenger, products David Neale, vice-president of new product development for Rogers AT&T Wireless. With these services, users compile buddy lists. "When you go online, you see a list of your buddies who are also online."

"Each of these users has its own community," Neale says. "It's like telephony or e-mail, but with a sense of presence. Before I send you a message, I know you're there. With phone or e-mail, I hope you'll be there. We want to take the ability to know you're there into wireless."

With location-based services, users will be able—in their opinion—to reveal their location to the mobile network. "If the network knows where devices are, you can indicate when you are to your friends," Neale explains. "If someone on your buddy list is around the corner, you can invite them for a cup of coffee. This is a natural for the youth market, whose lives revolve around relationships. Screens are huge. ICQ users is well, and may take to this."

Localization capabilities, which would allow ICQ-like messaging on mobile devices, will start appearing in 2001, Neale says.



Every day, mobile phone users send some 200 billion messages. With E-mail, voice mail and fax mail too, life's getting complicated. Ericsson's Mobile

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Internet messaging solution will mark a new era of integrated messaging, allowing network operators to offer the facility to send, receive and manage all messages through a single mailbox. And access it from any device, anywhere in the world. It's time to get a grip. www.ericsson.com

The Mobile Internet Revolution. It's an everyday thing.



ERICSSON 

The Next Generation
3G networks will deliver
an always-on multimedia
experience wherever
you are.

EVER SINCE THE NORTH AMERICANS began embracing the Internet, they have been looking for ways to end the "World Wide Wait." Particularly on PCs with dial-up modems, we spend too much time watching an hourglass whenever we load a new Web page. The World Wide Wait is even worse when we try to access the Net over a mobile device.

Recently, high-speed cable-modem and DSL (digital subscriber line) have transformed the way North Americans experience the Internet in their homes. But mobile users will have to create the World Wide Web.



"Today's cellular networks are built for voice," explains David Neale, vice-president of new product development for Rogers AT&T Wireless. "As we move to new applications, we have to have a network that allows voice and information to coexist." These integrated networks will move data around in packets at very high speeds, with voice as just one of many applications. "With these networks, you'll have been waiting through the ether," Neale says. "Some will be voice bits, some will be picture bits, some will be mail bits."

Nokia is describing new third-generation (3G) wireless networks. (Analog cellular was the first generation, and digital PCS was the second.) 3G will deliver

an experience comparable to fixed high-speed Internet services. Like cable-modem and DSL service, 3G is always on, so there's no need to dial in when you want to access the Internet. And it's fast. Initially, 3G will deliver speeds up to 384 kilobits per second, and will eventually reach two megabits—comparable to today's fastest fixed-line services.

Of course, fixed Internet services will continue to get faster. But mobile devices will be downloading smaller amounts of data and filling a smaller screen, so the experience may seem just as fast as the fixed Internet.

3G services with it much greater bandwidth than the 2 or 2.5 G systems, and therefore a possibility for many more real-time applications, says James Israel, director of mobile systems for Ericsson Canada Inc. This leads to the possibility of offering services that can utilize the full bandwidth potential of the 3G systems, such as video streaming. The likelihood of offering high-bandwidth applications to all subscribers, however, is unlikely due to the network impact and cost associated with it. Instead, he foresees a move toward the wireless Internet, which will capitalize on providing personalized content to users based on location (the so-called "rich, here, rich, now, and anytime" services).

At Rogers AT&T, for instance, Neale doesn't think it will be practical to have streaming audio or video on 3G devices. "But if you're looking at a commentary of users who like Tom Waite, Tom Waite's record company could send samples of a new record to your mobile device in the background," he adds. "The application would be driven by your owner."

There are social benefits as well as business benefits to implementing 3G, says Richard Marchand, an infectious-disease specialist at the Memorial Heart Institute. As an example, he says 3G services will make it possible for home-care nurses to conduct videoconferences with physicians in hospitals, and for patients in remote communities to get care from specialists in urban areas.

3G services will become available in Japan during 2001. It will be available in some European countries in 2002. North Americans will have to wait a while longer.

In preparation, however, 3G licences and the radio-frequency spectrum needed to provide 3G services are being auctioned off by governments throughout the world. There are a few countries where licences are being granted after a review of proposals by regulators. During 2000, for example, paid the British government US\$35 billion for 3G licences, while the German government asked US\$40 billion for four 3G licences.

Regulators in Canada and the US have to identify radio-frequency bands that can be used for new 3G services, then auction licenses for those bands. In the US, new 3G licenses will be awarded in September 2002.

Existing carriers can migrate to 3G rather than replace some of their 2G.

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channels with 2.5G and 3G channels, says Peter Minichi, Emerson Canada's manager of regulatory affairs and standardization. That's easier for carriers such as Microcell, Clearnet and the Mobility Group whose 2G networks use the same channelization plan as 3G, compared to those whose 2G networks use different channelization. Nevertheless, with the expected growth in data traffic, all 2.5 and 3G operators will inevitably need additional spectrum.

In early 2001, Canada will auction off additional 2G frequency bands that could be used for 3G services. Bidders have already placed deposits of \$641 million for the auction, which begins on January 15. That suggests well for speedy implementation, says Peter Barnes, president of the Canadian Wireless Telecommunications Association. "The wireless world wants to leave all this money sitting idle," he notes. "The pressure on manufacturers of network equipment to deliver is now to be tremendous."

In a November 2000 report, *Lithuania Says* says Ericsson has one of the best 3G product offerings in the world. The report, entitled "Wireless Equipment Review," cites Ericsson's ability to assist operators in the transition from all-cable networks to 3G. To date, Ericsson has contracts to supply 3G network equipment for 20 network operators around the world.

But Intel says it doesn't expect significant deployment of 3G in North America before late 2002 or early 2003. In the meantime, 2.5G services with some of the characteristics of 3G will bridge the gap by adding packet data to the existing networks. For example, Ericsson is supplying general packet radio services (GPRS) network equipment

For more information check out
www.unplannedadvantage.com

ment to Microcell so that it can add 2.5G capability to its GSM-based digital PCS network. Initially, Microcell's implementation of GPRS will deliver speeds of up to 56 kilobits per second. Other North American carriers are also developing 2.5G services.

"We're very excited about GPRS," notes Reps Panchado, president and chief operating officer of Microsoft subsidiary Microsoft Communications. "Microsoft sees a strategic choice to use GSM for its digital wireless network, which we launched in 1996. One of the benefits of our choice is that GPRS is a natural evolution for our network and we have been preparing for its introduction in 2001. For instance, we launched an aggressive program to expand our network to cover more highways and more Canadian communities in 2000. We've also implemented roaming agreements with other GSM networks in dozens of countries around the world, including many partners who are also deploying GPRS. This means Canadian consumers and businesses stand to benefit from high-speed data services not only when at home, but also while abroad."

Life+G, 2.5G weekn involve any dial-up process "What's really big about packet networks is you're always on and always connected," Israel explains. That means you can send and receive e-mail or connect and disconnect from services without having to dial in. Similarly, if you want to check the weather at a snack shop, you can do so much more quickly than you can if you have to dial in. And you can have important news pushed to you, so you receive instant alerts. It may not be as sexy as the multimedia goodies 3G will deliver, but it will be invaluable.



Waiting for Uncle Sam
 By ignoring treaty agreements, the US Congress has delayed new high-speed wireless service

TO DELIVER HIGH-SPEED VOICEDATA services, wireless carriers need radio-frequency spectrum. That is a scarce commodity everywhere, but nowhere more so than in North America.

The World Radio Conference (WRC), a body of the International Telecommunications Union, has been working on establishing frequency bands for new third-generation (3G) services since 1992. Most countries deployed 3G networks (second-generation digital cellular) in frequency bands that don't conflict with the bands set aside for 3G. Those countries have been able to grant 3G licenses.

However, the US has auctioned parts of the radio-frequency spectrum set aside by the WRC for 3G to 2G operators. The auction, earned out at the behest of Congress, netted US\$14 billion. "Congress put national interest—reducing the debt—ahead of the country's treaty agreements," says Peter Nauks, manager of regulatory affairs and standards issues for Ericsson.

Canada Inc. "This has created a huge problem for deploying 3G in this region." We don't think of auctioning spectrum in Canada because we have so much for the US to decide what spectrum it places to auction.

Other frequency bands proposed for 3G are already used by the US military, but some of these military applications could be moved to unused bands. Some other bands that could be used for 3G are already licensed to communications carriers, but are not being used. These could be reclaimed and auctioned by regulators. In the US, the plan is for available frequency bands to be identified by March 1, 2001, and allocated by the Federal Communications Commission by July 30, 2001. The FCC will conduct an auction for 3G licenses in the summer of 2002, and start licenses in September 2002.

Canada's regulations will, therefore, not know until March 2001 what frequency bands they can auction for new 3G carriers.

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"This is something everybody can use," says Mark Dehulstern, vice-president of e-commerce and wireless for the Bank of Montreal Group. "It's not for just high-net-worth customers. Shoppers waiting to use a debit card at a cash register can use a mobile phone to check their bank balance." BMO Nobis Burne customers can also view their portfolios and make trades wirelessly.

Barclays is also beginning to

experiment with mobile commerce. Companies like HMV Records, Indigo Books and Amazon.com already have mobile commerce applications that can be used with Internet-enabled cell phones. In fact, The Yankee Group expects the annual value of e-commerce purchases made over wireless devices to reach US\$50 billion by 2003.

With no-commerce, impulse purchases are easier. That's obviously good for the merchant, but it can be good for the buyer as well. "If someone tells you about a good book that you think you want to read, you can order it on a mobile device without having to write down the title and author," says Niko Karamis, Ericsson's director of mobile applications.

Other applications are also in the works. In Europe, consumer trials are testing mobile Internet applications that let motorists find parking meters with their cell phones. Just before the meter opens, it sends a reminder to the driver, who can replenish the meter without returning to it.

In the US, Ericsson has demonstrated a mobile Internet application that lets you buy soft drinks from Coca-Cola vending machines using an Internet-enabled phone. These phones employ the Wireless Applications Protocol (WAP) to display mobile Internet content. Currently, mobile devices aren't suitable for displaying full-fledged Web pages. Rather than using HTML (Hypertext Markup Language), which is used for fixed-line applications, mobile Internet applications are written in Wireless Markup Language (WML) and then delivered using WAP.

WAP is a monochrome text-only protocol designed to work with low-bandwidth wireless connections and

small phone screens. David Neale, vice-president of new product development for Rogers AT&T Wireless, acknowledges that makes WAP less appealing than the colorful third-generation applications that have taken off in Japan, but "WAP is a protocol that will evolve as new and more advanced devices are introduced to the market," he says. "WAP will follow a similar path to HTML, eventually merging into a common protocol, XML."

Mobile devices will then be able to display regular Web content. These mobile devices will identify themselves to the Internet application. Through a translation layer, the application will reformat the Web content for the user's particular device.

In addition to retail and banking business-to-consumer applications, Karamis focuses broad horizontal business-to-business applications. Sales forces will be able to confirm their inventory is on hand to fulfill orders. Service organizations will be able to make service procedures available on mobile devices carried by field technicians.

Already, vertical B2B mobile applications are emerging. Calgary-based myMarketWeb Inc. has developed a mobile Internet service for the oil and gas industry that lets users order equipment for field offices and drilling operations from their cell phones. "These users won't carry a notebook computer in their tool box," says company president Brad Gaskin, "but almost everybody in the field carries a cell phone." He plans to port the application to other industries as well.

Jonathan Bordin, wireless data product manager at Ericsson Canada, says businesses have security concerns about wireless, but he says those concerns are

misplaced. "Wireless adds security layers that aren't there in the fixed Internet," he notes. WAP applications can be designed so that information is encrypted from the mobile device all the way to the service provider's WAP gateway. From there, applications can use SSL (Secure Sockets Layer) encryption on the Internet, right to the business's own server.

Brian Platt, associate consultant for NBI/Michael Scott Associates, a Toronto-based telecommunications market research firm, foresees rapid acceptance of mobile Internet applications. He predicts that 20 to 30% of Canadian digital cellular subscribers will be using some form of mobile Internet service within a year. "There will be casual services for checking stocks, sports scores and bank balances, or ordering pizza," he says. E-mail, he adds, is "the killer app so far." Platt says almost half of digital PCS subscribers already use some form of text messaging.

While the mobile Internet is still in its infancy, Dick Lanza of the Bank of Montreal thinks there are payoffs for moving quickly. "There's a risk in waiting," he notes. "By the time you get as someone else will have experimented, become established, and will have become difficult to displace."



The World in Your Pocket
 Mobile Internet applications deliver the Net to your cell phone

THE TROUBLE WITH THE INTERNET is that it's not always there when you need it. Typically, you have to be sitting at your desk in front of a PC to get on the Net.

That's about to change. Wireless carriers around the world are introducing Internet services that let you gain access from new Internet-ready mobile phones. In Canada, there are mobile Internet services that let you check e-mail, get the latest news and watches follow stock prices and order merchandise.

The banking industry is leading the charge into mobile e-commerce, says Kevin Rios, product manager for wireless IP commerce products at

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Even inside the plant, workers need to be

"Personalized mobility will characterize the working environment of the future," says Alanazir Simonson, director of channel development for Ericsson Canada Inc. "People will be enveloped by communication networks ranging from Personal Area Networks to Wireless Local Area Networks to Wide Area Networks," he says, "each with a suite of suitable technologies and platforms in the Ericsson Enterprise Portfolio. It's all about catering into the clouds, allowing people to work where they want, when they want and being where seamless

The need for increased flexibility, mobility and cost efficiency has resulted in more enterprises building virtual communication networks to support their business processes. Real-time person-to-person communication combined with data capabilities have created many exciting applications in areas such as health care, warehousing and the office. For instance, hospital staff could scan a patient's wristband bar code, pull up the patient's record, order medication and talk to the nursing doctor—all on the same wireless device. "Work is not a place," says Sampana, "it's a process."



Better Mobile Mousetraps

It takes lots of smarts to build compelling mobile internet applications.

Personalized info. On a tiny mobile screen, wading through irrelevant information will turn users off. "With handheld devices, you want information to be tailored to your needs," Doosell says. "If I'm using the device to get news,

Before developing mobile applications, companies should think hard about what they're trying to achieve. "You have to develop an Internet strategy," Dowell says. "You have to think about how you're going to disseminate information to and collect information from your target customers, and to sell products using the Internet. Once you have established such a strategy, the new



step is to think about how you can advance those goals using wireless. Are there groups you can reach through wireless that you can't reach through the fixed Internet, or are there services you can offer to the same group on wireless that you can't offer on the fixed Internet? We can spot the ones that haven't done this strategic business analysis in a minute."

Oswell says Ericsson's Internet and Wireless Solutions group is able to offer the four major requirements for the development and deployment of mobile Internet applications.

The first is familiarity with the device people will be using to access the service. "There are a lot of harsh realities that aren't immediately obvious," Oswell says. "For example, the displays on mobile devices don't have support for color or graphics. That means you have to reconfigure the way you offer information in order to motivate people." As the world's third-largest manufacturer of wireless hardware, Ericsson has that knowledge.

The second is familiarity with

wireless networks. "It's a strategic issue as well as a technical issue," Oswell says. "Companies have to match services with the network's ability to absorb them. There's no magic in providing a specific service if the necessary infrastructure is not there."

In North America, the fragmentation of wireless standards "adds tremendous complexity" to the process of creating and deploying mobile Internet applications, Oswell says. "Any service wants to be at the top of the deck so that users will find them quickly. This means that separate deals have to be made with different operators."

Ericsson strives for dominance in new communications technologies, averaging \$7.5 billion a year—15% of revenues—in research and development. As a result, it is now the world's largest supplier of wireless infrastructure, connecting 40% of all mobile subscribers. Its network products service 76 million subscribers worldwide, more than the next three suppliers combined (Nokia, Lucent Technologies and Nortel Networks), and it is the

only supplier with a complete portfolio of 2G and 3G technologies. "Ericsson is the only manufacturer that supplies equipment for every digital PCS environment," Oswell says.

The third major requirement is the development of mobile Internet applications in familiarity with the service infrastructure that supports these applications. Ericsson offers payment systems, WAP gateways, security systems, transaction systems, mobile positioning systems and unified messaging systems. "We've worked with banks around the world," Oswell says. "We understand transaction systems, and we understand security."

Finally, the fourth prerequisite is an understanding of the Internet and Internet systems. Over the last three years, Ericsson has built a vigorous Internet consulting practice. It has developed fixed e-commerce applications for Nike, PostMort, Books Booths, Guess Jeans, the Internet Shopping Network and Sam the Record Man.

"These skills are all hard to find," Oswell says. "Ericsson is unique in being able to offer all of these services."

For blue-collar as opposed to blue-suited users, Ericsson has the 250d PRO. The water-, dust- and shock-resistant phone makes US military specifications for ruggedness. It can be used in work environments like construction or leisure applications like camping. Thompson says. The tri-mode TDMA phone works on the Rogers AT&T Wireless network in Canada, and other TDMA networks throughout the Americas. In addition to phone functions, it has two-way radio features for police and group calls. On networks

where TDMA PRD-Group service is available, one number can be used to initiate group calls with up to 30 members, or send a message to up to 96 members of a group.

For frequent flyers, there's the T28 World. Smaller than a deck of cards and weighing less than three ounces, the T28 World is a GSM phone that works on Microsoft's Fido network in Canada, and on GSM networks in more than 130 countries. It automatically updates the clock when carried from one time zone to another, and also functions as an alarm, calculator and stopwatch. It comes with adapters so that it can be recharged anywhere.

For those who want to use mobile Internet applications, there's the R276d phone. Designed for TDMA networks like Rogers AT&T Wireless, the R276d lets users send and receive e-mail, and access WAP (Wireless Application Protocol) Internet applications. "There are 150,000 WAP pages added to the Internet every month," Thompson says.

Other users need an all-in-one option, a device to manage their calendar and address books, check e-mail, access WAP mobile Internet services, send short messages and make telephone calls. The R380 fits this description. The GSM phone employs the EPOC operating system, which was developed by Symbolics, an Ericsson joint venture. EPOC allows mobile devices such as phones and palmtop computers to communicate directly with the Internet. The R380's pull-down keypad flips open to reveal a large horizontal touchscreen.

Ericsson also offers some nifty add-on devices. The Chatboard is a full QWERTY keyboard that attaches to



select Ericsson GSM phones, making it easier to key in messages. There's also an MP3 player that straps onto the bottom of the T28 World, so travelers can listen to music when they're not talking on the phone.

Many people use different hardware in different times, depending on what they're doing. "On a weekday, when you need access to e-mail, your calendar and contacts, you might want a device with a

large screen," says Gary Connell, vice-president and general manager of Ericsson Canada's consumer products division. "When you're going out in the evening, you might want something very compact that you use just for voice." On GSM networks, users can switch phones just by moving the smart card from one phone to the other. This capability will be a standard feature of forthcoming third-generation (3G) voice/data networks.

In the Palm of Your Hand There's a mobile device for every need

WHEN MOBILE PHONES WERE JUST for talking, they were all more or less the same. Manufacturers strove to design the smallest and sleeker handsets. Miniaturization ruled, there wasn't much to distinguish one from the next, but that's all changed.

"In the past, there was one criterion," says Carl Thompson, manager of marketing at Ericsson Canada Inc., "a blue-suited guy who needed a phone. Now there are so many types of customers, we have to have many different phones."



Up Close and Personal

Bluetooth wireless technology cuts the cords between electronic devices

IT'S IRONIC, YOU CAN USE A MOBILE phone to talk to someone on the other side of the planet without wires getting in your way. But if you want to connect the phone to a headset, you need wires. Even if you want to connect your phone to a notebook computer.

Bluetooth's wireless technology will get rid of those cables—and do a lot more besides.

The technology is named after the Viking king, Harald Bluetooth, who pacified fractious warring and united Norway and Denmark during the 10th century. Bluetooth wireless technology allows electronic devices to be tied together into "personal area networks" so that they can communicate with each other. Essentially, it's a short-range radio communications link for transmitting digital voice and data.

A Bluetooth mobile phone can send voice to a Bluetooth hands-free headset, or exchange a list of phone numbers with a Bluetooth personal computer. A Bluetooth personal computer can send a document to a Bluetooth printer without connecting wires. Because Bluetooth wireless technology uses radio waves, you don't have to point Bluetooth devices at each other for them to communicate, as you do with infrared devices like TV remote controls. You can establish a partnership between Bluetooth devices as long as they're within 10 metres of each other, and they aren't disk obstacles like exterior walls. Forthcoming Bluetooth amplifiers, designed for applications where range is a greater priority than battery life, will expand the maximum distance to 100 metres.

Because users have to establish partnerships between devices, there's no possibility of someone's phone conversation being incidentally overheard on someone

else's besides. And because Bluetooth devices change radio frequencies 1,600 times a second, there's no possibility of intruders eavesdropping on conversations.

Development of Bluetooth began in 1994, with an Ericsson study on ways to replace cables between mobile phones and portable computers. In 1997, Ericsson invited IBM, Intel, Nokia and Toshiba to form the Bluetooth Special Interest Group (SIG). Today, there are more than 2,000 members.

From the onset, Bluetooth wireless technology was designed to be small, so that it can be incorporated in tiny mobile devices, to be low-powered, so that it doesn't drain batteries, and to be low-cost, so that it doesn't add inordinately to product price. Currently, a Bluetooth chip costs \$50 per device. That price will fall between \$10 and \$15 within 12 to 18 months, says Jérôme Proulx, innovation manager and Bluetooth ambassador for Ericsson Canada Inc.

To ensure Bluetooth certification, products have to pass tests to prove that the technology is implemented properly as per the standard. "This ensures that products will be interoperable," Proulx explains, "so you can use a Brand A phone with a Brand B headset. Users want the freedom to purchase whatever brands they want."

Ericsson will introduce its first Bluetooth product into Canada in early 2001: a headset that works with select Ericsson phones. The kit will consist of a Bluetooth module that attaches to the phone, plus the headset. Ericsson will offer an integrated Bluetooth phone in the middle of the year. Also coming from Ericsson in 2001 is the Cordless Screen Phone, which will let users talk or access the Internet throughout their houses—without wires.

Other vendors who are about to introduce Bluetooth products include Xerox, which will offer a PC card for adding Bluetooth capability to notebook computers. That's just the beginning. Calsonic Infratec Group predicts that by 2005, there will be 670 million devices worldwide with built-in Bluetooth wireless technology.

Planes, Trains and Automobiles

Bluetooth wireless technology isn't just for phones and computers

Among the many applications will be multi-mode phones. Inside the home, these phones use Bluetooth wireless technology to make calls through a base station connected to the fixed telephone network. At the office, they place calls through the company PBX. Outside the home, they use public wireless networks.

ALL KINDS OF ELECTRONIC DEVICES need to talk to the outside world. Usually they do so through wires. Bluetooth wireless technology will make it easier for electronic devices to communicate with each other, or with humans.

Locomotionists with Bluetooth wireless technology will make it easier for engineers to get maintenance data. Automobile and aircraft manufacturers will use Bluetooth wireless technology to get rid of the rat's nest of cables under dashboards. They may also use it to collect information from users in the car, and then transmit it over public networks. Kids in the backseat could be playing on a Bluetooth portable game console against a friend at home using a videogame console.

Bluetooth wireless technology will have a role in hospitals as well. Bluetooth medical appliances could automatically record patients' blood pressure and respiration, allowing nurses to spend more time in patient care.

Ericsson has provided Bluetooth development kits to universities and technical institutes across Canada. In eight months, undergraduate business management and engineering students from Sherbrooke University in Quebec developed Bluetooth applications for video surveillance, door and window control, thermostat control and setting movement.

Bluetooth computer users will also be able to exchange files electronically, without plugging into a physical network, during multipoint meetings. More broadly, Bluetooth wireless technology will make it easy to synchronize information on mobile phones, handheld computers, notebooks and desktops.

"This technology allows a complete home security and automation system to be constructed without having to fish wires through walls," says Jérôme Proulx, innovation manager and Bluetooth ambassador for Ericsson Canada Inc.

"The devices are unobtrusive. In the winter you can set the thermostat to lower the temperature at 11 p.m. But if a motion sensor tells the thermostat that there's someone still in the room, it will maintain a comfortable temperature."





Every day, like 600 people are accessing entertainment services to their mobile phones. Ericsson says, let's make sure that it's the Mobile

want

Ericsson mobile entertainment. What you want. Where you want it.

Internet growth will bring people what they want, where they want it. That's why as part of its bid to lead Mobile Internet solutions, Ericsson brings together network operators and application developers to build exciting new services for every local market around the world. Games, Music, Games, Online shopping. The kind of services customers will actually use. Every day. www.ericsson.com

The Mobile Internet Revolution. It's an everyday thing.

ERICSSON

Retaliation in Spain

Fernando Cano Casanueva, 45, a politician in Spain's Popular Party, was killed when a bomb attached to the bottom of the van he was driving near Barcelona exploded. The attack, which was blamed on the Basque separatist group ETA, was the first sign of retaliation against an anti-secessionist pact signed by the governing Popular and opposition Socialist parties on Dec. 12. Nearly 800 people have died in fighting since the ETA launched its campaign for an independent Basque state in 1968.

A bomber's death plea

Timothy McVeigh, who was sentenced to death for the Oklahoma City bombing, asked a federal judge to halt any further appeals and to set an execution date within the next three months. The 32-year-old has been in prison since he was sentenced in 1997 to the April 19, 1995, bombing of the Alfred B. Murrah federal building that killed 168 people and left another 500 injured. The attack was the worst act of terrorism ever committed on American soil.

Blacks urged to fight whites

Zimbabwe President Robert Mugabe urged his country's blacks to unite against whites and so "unite fear" into dark hearts, blaming a "racist" minority for the country's worsening economic crisis. Mugabe, 76, made the speech two days after the violent death of a white farmer—the seventh killing this year. He also vowed to continue condemning white-owned farms for redistribution to landless blacks, despite the fact that the courts have twice declared the takeovers illegal.

China shoots for the stars

China set an official timetable for its plans to put an astronaut into space in the next five years. The Xinhua news agency said several unmanned spacecraft would be launched, starting next year, before the manned flight. China will also launch more than 30 satellites during the same period. The United States and the former Soviet Union are the only countries to have put people into space.



Clinton says goodbye

U.S. President Bill Clinton takes a plot of goodness during his family's three-day visit to Iceland, Northern Ireland and England. Clinton, who poured a key role in brokering the 1996 Good Friday accord, called on Northern Ireland's Catholics and Protestants to continue to work towards peace. Meanwhile, his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, elected New York senator last month, signed a \$12-million deal to write about the eight years she spent in the White House. Only Pope John Paul II has received more for a conflict work.

Reviving the Middle East talks

After more than a month without face-to-face negotiations, senior Israeli officials met with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat in an effort to revive the Middle East peace talks before U.S. President Bill Clinton leaves office on Jan. 20 and Israeli Prime Minister Ehud Barak fights an election in early February. Barak resigned on Dec. 10 and polls show him badly trailing his main rival, former prime minister Benjamin Netanyahu. Most political ex-

perts believe that only a peace deal with the Palestinians can secure Barak from defeat if opposition of Netanyahu, who is currently ineligible to run because he is not a sitting member of parliament, manage to change the election laws.

During the meeting last week, negotiators agreed to implement a truce and begin lifting the Israeli blockade around several Arab towns, allowing Palestinian workers back into Israel. Both sides have been under pressure to end the violence that began on Sept. 29 in Jerusalem at a shrine holy to both Jews and Muslims. Since then, 325 have died, most of them Palestinians.

Shutting down a deadly nuclear reactor

Engineers at Ukraine's Chernobyl nuclear power plant, the site of the world's worst nuclear accident, shut down its last remaining reactor as part of a lengthy decommissioning process that may last up to eight years. In 1986, an explosion at the plant spewed radioactive dust over Ukraine, Belarus, Russia—then part of the Soviet Union—and other regions of Europe. Since then, illnesses related to exposure to radiation have killed thousands of people. Still, 6,000 people are employed at the plant and shutting down Chernobyl was demanded by workers and their families.

SEAL PUPS GIVE DR. IVERSON

THE **SKINNY**
ON **FAT.**

We've all been told that too much fat isn't good for us adults. Babies, however, need it, and a mother's milk is the best source. Just ask hooded seal pups. They nurse for only four days — the shortest nursing period of any mammal — but they grow more than seven kilograms a day, the fastest growth rate of any mammal. That's because they take in 66,000 calories per day in the form of milk fat.

Just what makes this milk so energy-rich fascinates Dr. Sam Iverson of Dalhousie University. She has found that fat samples from marine mammals contain up to 76 different fatty acids, each of which can reveal what the animal has been eating, and where. That can shed light, for example, on why a population of Atlantic sea lions is declining, or whether the diet of East Coast seals is affecting certain fish populations.

Dr. Iverson's pioneering research on the physiological biochemistry of milk production and the role of fat in reproduction and survival is having a wide impact on wildlife conservation and ecology. It may also help us understand how our own bodies function.

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Canada

World **Notes**

Presidential pardon

Russian President Vladimir Putin pardoned Edmond Pope, an American businessman and retired naval intelligence officer convicted of espionage by a Russian court and sentenced to 20 years in prison. Pope, who spent more than eight months in Moscow's notorious Lefortovo prison, flew to Germany and was hospitalized before being released for the journey home. The 54-year-old, who was arrested on April 3, was accused of illegally obtaining four reports on a high-speed torpedo, the Shival, which Russia claimed was based on secret technology. But his defense team said the information already existed in foreign countries where Russia had sold the torpedo. The pardon was a great relief for Pope's family, who had feared a recurrence of the rare form of bone cancer he once suffered from if he remained incarcerated. Pope was the first American convicted of spying in Russia in 60 years.

Manhunt in Texas

Hundreds of Texas law enforcement officials used helicopters, horses and tracking dogs to comb the rural countryside surrounding the John B. Connally Jr. state prison, 76 km from San Antonio, in an attempt to apprehend seven escaped inmates. The prison break began about 1:30 p.m. on Dec. 13 when the seven men overpowered night maintenance workers. The prisoners stole their clothes, a radio and keys to a prison truck and left the workers bound and locked in a utility room. Before fleeing, the inmates also overpowered two guards and stole a semi-automatic rifle, a shotgun, 14 pistols and several hundred rounds of ammunition. While this is the first escape from the five-year-old prison, the jail has not been without problems. In April, eight prisoners overpowered three guards and in June a warden was severely beaten by an inmate.

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Standing at Canada's financial power centre: 'The more complex the problem the better'

the challenge of international markets—in Toronto, while keeping an eye on technology and how it affects investing. He wants to create a regulatory framework that is relevant to the times but doesn't get in the way that "foreign firms but doesn't stifle innovation and creativity." One of his real strengths, he says, one that was honed as a lawyer specialising in intricate mergers and takeover deals, is an ability to solve problems. "The more complex the problem the better," he says.

The silver-haired, slight and soft-spoken Brown has unquestionably made a difference. When the commission was once regarded as an institution bogged down by a lack of funding, a shortage of staff and an inability to command respect from the investment community, it now has money, people and the full attention of The Street and its troops of brokers, lawyers and investment bankers. Jon Fiset, who is managing partner at Oler, Hosken & Hartman and one of Brown's former Big Street peers, says the chairman enjoys an "extremely high regard" from the securities bar and the investment community.

The Street is paying attention because the commission, under Brown, has not held back from tackling some mighty big players in Canadian business circles: the Royal Bank of Canada's pension management arm, RT Capital Management Inc., fined \$3 million for manipulating stock prices; Michael Compton, the former investment adviser of Enbridge Corp., charged with insider trading; Air Canada, under investigation for giving information to a limited list of transportation analysts; Yorkton Securities Inc., a boutique firm that has been pushing the envelope by investing in companies it underwrites and promotes, also under investigation; and in mid-December, four Web sites accused of providing "potentially fraudulent" investment services.

The commission has also made strides on the less sexy front of developing new rules and regulations. For discount brokers, it has lifted the so-called know-your-client requirement, where brokers must reveal trading patterns to their clients' level of risk tolerance. It is adopting new rules to allow alternative trading systems—independent electronic markets that have flourished south of the border. It is set to expand its horizons with a merger with the Financial Services Commission of Ontario, regulator of pensions, trusts, credit unions and insurance companies. And with Brown's driving force, the commission has worked with other provincial regulators to work on creating a quasi-national system—a true first in the face of antagonistic provincial politics.

In his rehabilitation effort, Brown is keen to show that standards in Canada are up to snuff internationally, especially compared with the United States. The reality, Brown says, is that the U.S. capital markets are the world's bigger. He knows that as stock markets from global alliances, regulators will increasingly have to work together. Already, there is a "joint deal" of co-operation between Canada and the United States, he says. "For us to adopt an approach that radically departs from what goes on in the U.S. is to jeopardize the ability of our companies to participate in those markets," he says.

One of the first things Brown did after arriving at the OSC in 1998 was to boost staff numbers and their pay. In the enforcement enforcement division, the employee total has climbed in the past 18 months to 80 from 40. Adding Brown was a change in the commission's legal status, from a branch of the Ontario ministry of finance to a self-funding Crown corporation, which gave the OSC control over its own financing. When the Ontario government once kept the bar's share of the OSC's revenues (\$6 per cent in 1997, mainly from fees for prospectus filings and registrations), the contribution now hovers over much less—28 per cent in fiscal 2000. And even though it has cut its fee, annual revenues jumped in the past four years to \$82 million from \$58 million due to the business boom.

The increased funding levels have been key to the com-

The Market Czar

By Katherine Macklem

He doesn't put his feet up on this table. But with the sole of one shoe firmly on the flat edge of an ultra-coloured travertine surface, David Brown pushes off and gently tilts his chair back on two legs. The head of the Ontario Securities Commission—the country's most influential investor regulator—is sitting at the table in his office where he often sits lonely. Today, an unfashioned glass of red sits beside him. Brown, 60, is talking about the tarnished reputation of Canada's capital markets and his mandate to restore confidence in them. "It's no secret that there have been some heavy blows to our credibility in the past several years," he says. "Much of what we have been trying to do is rehabilitation."

Brown, a former Big Street lawyer and a licensed pilot, at

David Brown has given Canada's top securities watchdog a lot more bite

downright comfortable in his role as Canada's top securities watchdog. Now halfway through a five-year term as chairman, he arrived at the commission at a critical point in its history. The spectacular flame-out of a string of companies, including Ite-X Minerals Ltd., YBM Magnex International Inc., and

Locust Grove, raised fears that the Canadian markets were off with corruption—as well as questions about the effectiveness of the market regulators. That, combined with a U.S.-led push towards global capital markets, had threatened to submerge Canadian exchange at the same time as more Canadians than ever are investing through the stock market in publicly traded companies. Brown's job, as he sees it, is to figure out how the different pieces—investor protection, regulation repair and

Quotations from chairman Brown

Excerpt from Ontario Securities Commission chairman David Brown's talk with National Business Correspondent Katherine Macklem

On selective disclosure rules, which ban companies from giving market-sensitive information only to selected players: "We're not about to come down hard on somebody who's really tried to come to grips with the issues but may not have done it

in a way we feel is appropriate. But a lot of this stuff is not rocket science. We've had these rules on the books now for a long, long time. A lot of companies mislead their analysts' conference calls on the Web."

On Canadian markets' tarnished reputation: "Part of our original mandate was to restore some of the credibility and confidence. We're trying to create markets that will be seen by the rest of Canada as well as foreigners as efficient markets where fairness and price discovery are as good as they'll find anywhere."

On his role: "Everybody knows the markets are changing. Everybody knows technology is having an enormous influence. But I don't think there's been nearly enough focus on what all this means. What it means to the market process and where they are existing, and what it means to the regulators who are trying to create a framework that fosters fairness but doesn't stifle innovation and creativity? I think that's something I've been able to bring, not only in Ontario but across the country. I'm actually enjoying what I'm doing a lot."

ment's newfound rigour. So has Brown's leadership, according to Peter Day, chairman of Morgan Stanley Canada Ltd. and a longtime friend. Day recalls teenage years when despite his short stature, Brown—"Brownie" then—was a star basketball player at Fisher Park high school in Ottawa because he had a good sense of the game around him. "He was creative and very focused," Day says. The OSC chairman now has the opportunity to shape public policy as it affects the capital markets—and at a time of tremendous flux, it is crucial to have someone who can look at the big picture, says Day, himself a former OSC chairman and a member of the search committee that hired Brown. "Brownie leads with a vision," Day says. "He didn't go in simply to regulate broken and dealers."

Not all observers are so positive about Brown. Some criticize the way the commission handled the RT Capital affair, and accuse Brown and the OSC of making an example of the Royal Bank, the country's

The OSC's hit list

Recent investigations of individuals and companies



John Fabbiano, the top prosecutor of RT Capital, is on trial (in photo) for insider trading and leaking information.



Peter Larkin, the author of RT Capital, was accused of insider trading after RT admitted manipulating stock prices.



Air Canada CEO Robert Miller (center), is being probed about possible selection disclosure.



Houston Securities Inc. asked by CEO David Peterson (center), the firm is being investigated for possible conflict of interest.



Michael Creighton, the former Const Corp. CEO, faces insider trading charges over his 1997 sale of company stock.

commission makes significant decisions, they have an obligation to state reasons for them," Asaram says. Brown declined to comment on Yorkton. Says OSC spokesman Frank Switzer: "The results of the investigation will speak for themselves."

A major concern for Brown is the protection of investors—especially when 49 per cent of adult Canadians own shares either directly or through mutual funds (statistically up from 37 per cent in 1996 and 23 per cent in 1989). If he had to make a choice, he says, he would "inevitably" choose to protect small investors over other market participants. His concern for the little guy may come from his own upbringing in Ontario. Brown's family lived in Peterborough and Kingston before settling in Ottawa. His father worked as a salesman for John M. Gardau, a vendor of dry goods. In the summertime, his father brought young David on the road with him. "I was in every general store in every small town in eastern Ontario," he says.

When Brown was approached to take on the job of leading the OSC, he flatly turned down the offer. "I had no intention of being a regulator," he says. He was content in his job as senior partner with Dixon, Ward & Beck, where he'd practiced law for almost 30 years. He was making more than his current salary of \$518,000—others say probably double—and he thought he'd be there forever. But his friends Day and Jim Baffie, a plugged-in securities lawyer at the Toronto firm "Ray's," just kept chipping away at his resolve, Brown recalls. Finally, he went away for a week to do at Vail, Colo., with his family. "The first day, I was just backing up my boxes when the phone rang," Brown says. It was Day who told his friend Brown there would be plenty of time for thoughts as he rode the ski lifts or walked in line. "I want you just to think about it," Day said. "At the end of the week," recounts Brown, "Ed talked myself into it."

Brown, who took up flying at the age of 50, recently sold his Cessna 310 twin-engine plane. He found the chairman's job has too demanding a schedule to keep up flying. "I actually loved it, but something had to give," he says. He's held on to his license, but says he wouldn't get in a cockpit before taking lessons again. Like learning back in his chair, like overseeing markets, balance and caution for Brown are key. ■



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Soon, not anyone's car

GM phases out its Oldsmobile line as sales sag

By Jane O'Hara

In the age of hip, it's hard to be an old fogey. But that's the tragedy the once-legendary Oldsmobile has tried to shed for almost 40 years. It hasn't been easy. In the late 1990s, General Motors Corp., which owns the Oldsmobile division, launched an Orwellian ad campaign boldly rebranding their Oldsmobiles as "Youngmobiles." Twenty years later came a new push to attract younger, more affluent customers—"Hi New Year Roberts Car." Still, no amount of fancy ad-

vertising or costly engines could shake the consumer's sense that Oldsmobile was little more than a buzzsaw on wheels—a mill bent beyond redemption.

Last week, GM finally came to the same conclusion, pulling the plug on the granddaddy of the American automotive industry founded in 1897 by Ransom E. Olds. After spending an estimated \$4 billion over the past five years to re-engineer and market Oldsmobile's newest line—among them, the Alero, Irgent and Aurora—GM in-

ounced the Olds division would be phased out, mostly by 2004. Chief executive Rick Wagoner and the company had done everything it could to salvage the money-losing division. "I've got a clear conscience that we gave it a good effort," said Wagoner. "There was no workable solution."

While highly symbolic, the death of



2001 Aurora, 1961 Olds sedan wagon (right, on far left)

Oldsmobile is just part of a vast GM restructuring plan to increase the profitability of the world's largest automaker. Over the next couple of years, the company will slash about 14,000 jobs worldwide, shut plants and reduce production. The downsizing comes at a time when auto sales in North America and Europe have begun to slide following two years of strong growth.

With feverishly high-spending consumers running amok, too many cars are sitting on too many dealers' lots, driving prices down and narrowing already meager profit margins. GM is not the only automaker guilty in the soup. Recently, two other automakers—Ford Motor Co. and DaimlerChrysler—warned shareholders of rising inventories and shrinking profits. And last week,

U.S. Commerce Department figures showed that November sales of new cars and trucks dropped a whopping 2.2 per cent compared with the same month last year. For economic analysts, it was a main sign the American economy is softening. Still,

Sherry Cooper, chief economist for RMD Nelson Burns. "These retail sales figures are another loud and clear signal that the U.S. economy is getting down in a hurry."

A similar downsizing will take place at General Motors of Canada Ltd., assembly firms in Oshawa and Quebec. Canada's largest automaker employs 22,000 people and turned out 315,000 vehicles last year—a true bumper crop aimed mostly at the American market. But those sales days are over. To reduce inventories, GM plans to slash 16 per cent of its new car and truck production for the next three months. This will mean temporary shutdowns at plants in Stuen-Tobias,

Que., Oshawa, Ont., and St. Catharines, Ont. About 130 white-collar employees will lose their jobs, as will about 150 plant workers in Saint-Therese. Starting in January, GM will initiate a variety of belt-tightening measures—cancelling overtime, slowing assembly lines and temporary layoffs—affecting 4,000 workers. Canadian Auto Workers president Bruce Hargrove believes GM should have seen the problems coming sooner and dealt with them in a less draconian way. He says the company could have slowed production simply by adjusting overtime. "Had the companies moved this earlier we wouldn't have had this major inventory problem," said Hargrove. "Nobody wants to be the first to cut production."

How long the measures will stay in place—whether it's a short-term suspension or a long-term correction—depends on the market. "It all drives by demand," said GM spokeswoman Faye Roberts. For divisions of the Oldsmobile, however, it's the end of the road. ■

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Mathews and Minel

Ottawa high-tech billionaire Terry Mathews bought back a key part of the company, Mital Corp., that first made him rich. For \$350 million, Mathews purchased the name and the communications division of the firm he and Michael Compend, later to found Carol Corp., started in 1973. The rise of the company, which had repositioned failing sales, will continue its semiconductor business under another name. In February, Mathews sold his stake in Newbridge Networks Corp. to France's Alcatel SA for stock valued at \$2.2 billion.

TV banking

The Bank of Nova Scotia and Rogers Cable Inc. will offer Canada's first banking service via TV set, without need of a computer. The service, including fund transfers, bill payments and stock information, will be available using a digital set-top box and wireless keyboard early in the new year, initially in Ontario.

AOL-Time Warner OK

The U.S. Federal Trade Commission gave a landmark approval to the \$16-billion merger of Internet giant America Online Inc. and cable and media colossus Time Warner Inc. Concerned about market domination, the FTC required the two to grant competitors access to their system and content. The biggest merger in U.S. history will need an approved nod from the Federal Communications Commission.

Barrick versus Bex-X

The former chief financial officer of defunct gold-mining firm Bex-X Minerals Ltd. testified that rival Barrick Gold Corp. had tried to "create political problems" for Bex-X in Indonesia in order to wrest control of its supposedly rich Borneo site. Roberto Finnado, an investigator retained by Bex-X, found in 1996 that Barrick had held secret talks with Tommy Suharto, son of then-President Suharto, in order to stir up trouble. The site later turned out to be worthless. The testimony came during the trial in absence of former Bex-X geologist John Peltierhof on charges of insider trading.

A wave of profit warnings

The companies—Microsoft, Maytag, Polaris, Eastman Kodak, General Motors, Ford, Whirlpool—make some of the most common household items, but last week their stockholders had to reckon with a less familiar truth: all warned that their profits would be lower than expected. For investors, it was the proof they needed—the runaway American economy is finally slowing down, and the rest of the world may well follow. Needing no further chase, markets in New York City and Toronto slumped yet again.

In still-booming Canada, where pessimism is on a hike as interest rates after inflation reached its highest level in nine years, there were also surprises. Montreal-based Alcan Aluminium Ltd. raised its own profit warning,



Levy: the problem on 'short-lived'

blaming slumping demand and its \$4.5-billion merger with Switzerland's Algroup. And the stock of Vancouver-based pharmaceutical company QLT Inc. plunged 32 per cent to a new 52-week low as news that sales of its Virodine eye-care product will be slower than expected. QLT CEO Julia Levy realized the problems would be "short-lived." "Worried investors hoped the worst was true for the markets

A peace pact at Abitibi

The rocky feud at Montreal-based forest products giant Albiti Consolidated Inc. ended in a boardroom compromise. Pierre Karl Peladeau, CEO of key shareholder Quebecor Inc., had demanded the ouster of Abitibi CEO John Waven, claiming Waven was not living up to the cost-cutting culture of Donohoe Inc., which merged with Abitibi in April. But a board compromise backed Waven, and last week the two sides agreed. Waven would stay, but Peladeau would become vice-chairman and join a committee monitoring integration with Donohoe.

Financial Outlook

Inflation in Canada is setting all-time records—but not good ones. The annual inflation rate jumped nearly half a point in November to 3.2 per cent. Annual gas prices soared 40 per cent, the largest increase since Statistics Canada started the consumer price index in 1949. The bad news continued, with fuel-oil prices up 44 per cent and gasoline up 19 per cent. Overall, energy costs rose 18 per cent over a year earlier. Mortgage, restaurant food, rent and telephones also contributed to the increase. The CPI is now above

the three-per-cent figure the Bank of Canada has set as its upper target for inflation. And with winter heating and talk of record energy prices, consumers are likely to find an even heavier pinch on their wallets in coming months.

CAUSE FOR CONCERN?

Rise in price for the 12 months ending in November

3.2% ANNUAL INFLATION

ENERGY 40%

GASOLINE 19%

18% MORTGAGE/RESTAURANT FOOD

15% RENT

14% CLOTHING/TELEPHONE

13%

12%

11%

10%

9%

8%

7%

6%

5%

4%

3%

2%

1%

0%

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The dentist's office goes digital

It's a common experience at the dentist: you lie down on a slim plastic chair, the hygienist leaves the room and, zap, a machine takes an X-ray of your problem tooth. Increasingly, however, dentists are moving away from conventional film in the mouth and opting to go digital. David Gane, senior and chief executive of Dicom Imaging Systems Inc. in White Rock, B.C., says a digital X-ray reduces the time a patient is exposed to potentially harmful radiation by as much as 75 per cent. And the software that Dicom produces to adjust image contrast, brightness, or add colour, says Gane, improves

a dentist's ability to make a diagnosis. While conventional X-rays take about five minutes to shoot and develop, their digital counterparts take just seconds. "Saving 4½ minutes at a dentist's life," says Gane, "is big news."

There are two types of digital X-ray hardware available: one wired, the other wireless. In the former, the patient lies down on a sensor connected by wire to a computer monitor. In the latter, a technician inserts a wireless sensor asked in a protective plastic bag into the patient's mouth. Once exposed, the sensor is removed and placed in a scanner to display the image. In both sys-



Taking X-rays without film. Big news!

tems, the X-ray machine itself does not have to be replaced. Since the average North American dentist's office takes 800 X-rays a month, at a cost of about \$1.50 each, the savings, says Gane, are substantial. According to a recent survey, 13 per cent of North American dentists intend to buy digital X-ray equipment within the next year.

Super chips

Intel Corp., the world's largest manufacturer of computer chips, has developed what it says is the smallest and fastest processor ever made. The transistor, which acts like a gate for electrons, is about 1/2,000th the thickness of a human hair. Intel predicts that in five to 10 years it will be able to squeeze more than 400 million such transistors onto a single computer chip, which would run at 10 gigahertz, or roughly 10 times faster than today's fastest chip. It would be powerful enough for a device to instantly translate speech from another language to the person talks.

Dayle Hineshko

Cool Site

Christmas shadow

Canadians will be among those to receive a promise from the solar system on Christmas Day. Weather permitting, most North Americans (except those in Alaska and the Yukon) will be able to observe the moon partially eclipse the sun in the morning or early afternoon. Times for various cities are located at www.ckcp.ca/celestial/eclipse/ under DOUZZable.html.

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Ann Dowsett Johnston

In the spirit of giving

Rohal Raj is the first to admit that he is not a big guy: five-foot-six, and all of 125 lbs. "Looking well?" Not a big guy, and no, not much of an appetite. Little wonder, then, that when Raj signed up for the one-size-fits-all meal plan at Willid Laurier University back in 1997, his first thought was how can I make use of my limited meal points? His second thought was a brilliant one: why not persuade students to donate their unused points to purchase groceries for food banks and community agencies? That second thought spawned

but just about how many people we have fed, but how many students we have inspired to take an active role," says Raj. "I believe we have the ability to change the face of the world."

What Raj is harnessing in students' off-hours, often as fundraising directly through the curriculum. Across the United States, hundreds of universities now offer service learning, a form of experiential education that integrates public service into the curriculum. Stanford University, for instance, offers up to 30 courses with a service component,



Raj, setting out to change the world

including an engineering course on affordable housing. Students are involved in philanthropy, policy work, serving on boards—reciprocal relationships where the community person serves as both teacher and learner. Earlier this year, Pierre Omidyar, the 33-year-old founder of eBay, donated \$15 million to Tufts University near Boston to establish the University College of Citizenship and Public Service.

North of the border, the concept is gaining ground as well. Last year, the J. W. McConnell Family Foundation donated more than \$1 million to the Service Learning Institute at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish, N.S. And in January, the University of British Columbia established a volunteer program, reaching 50 students with 12 community agencies in Vancouver's impoverished Downtown Eastside—a clear precursor to a service-learning program. Chelsi White-Delvec, a third-year science student who hopes to become an emergency-room doctor, spends four hours each week playing cards or serving lunch at the Living Room, a drop-in centre for people with a history of mental-health problems. Says Maqsood Fryer, director of UBC's Learning Exchange: "These students have developed a sense of social justice. They really reaffirm each other's faith in human evolution."

Two weeks ago, Fryer's program received a \$1-million donation from a UBC alumnus. That's just the sort of gift that the indefatigable Raj is certain will come his way. Last week, Med Exchange opened its first training funds. The \$60,000 fund of credits disappeared long ago. "I believe with everything in me, that my vision will work," says Raj, "but I'm in a very interesting spot right now. There are lots of venture capitalists, but few venture philanthropists." One can only hope that in this, the season of giving, a bargain will appear.

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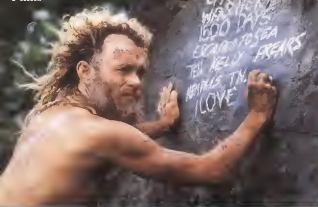
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Holiday Escapades



Brian D. Johnson

With the holiday season comes the year-end bonanza of blockbusters. The biggest, How the Grinch Stole Christmas, and the best, Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon, have already been reviewed in three pages. The rest of the Christmas list is a mix of "prestige" pictures and formula fare—dominated by tales of self-absorbed men enjoying mid-life epiphanies. A sampling:

Cast Away is the big screen's answer to the adventure vacation. And even if being stuck on a desert island with Tom Hanks is your idea of purgatory, it's a much better movie than might be expected. Yes, it sounds like a one-man episode of *Survivor*—see Tom talk to himself, spear fish and shed his baby fat despite some flaws, *Cast Away* is a gripping spectacle, full of visceral suspense and visual thrills.

Reunited with *Forrest Gump* director Robert Zemeckis, Hanks plays Chuck, a FedEx systems engineer who spends his workaholic life juggling around the globe, enforcing deadlines. On Christmas, he is on the verge of proposing to his girlfriend (Helen Hunt), when duty calls him away. The FedEx plane crash, which crashes Chuck in the South Sea, altering a perfect storm, takes the art of the sandwich, disaster to a new level—that is one movie they won't be showing on Air Canada.

But even after the movie settles into Robinson Crusoe mode, the physical drama is still regressing—whether it involves Hanks trying to open a coconut, start a fire or treat himself with primitive dentistry. For over an hour of the film, his only companion is a volleyball, washed up in a FedEx package, which he pairs with a happy face and names Wilson. FedEx, by the way, is a virtual character in the film, blended right into the script with a prominence unprecedented in Hollywood product placement.

Although it comes from one of Hollywood's most conver-

*Hanks: the big search
shedding answer to the
adventurer narrative*

sional directors, *Cast Away* is an unusual film, and not just because the shoot was broken up by a one-year hiatus while Hanks shored down. Yes, Zemeckis still has every sentence on the nose—using an old pocket watch as his plot symbol, like *Gump's* box of chocolates. And his ornate camera makes a fetish of dramatic irony, letting the audience glimpse every dire development just ahead of the hero. But in film's long line, anchored by sea and sky, Zemeckis tempers grandeur with uncharacteristic sensitivity. Though we should be tired of Hanks playing Everyman by now, the actor sustains a raw conviction he's never shown before. Later, when his custody runs back into Tom Hanks—looking like he just stepped out of a spa—the movie flourishes, struggling to deliver a denouement that doesn't feel foisted by Hollywood. But it's a nifty package just the same.

The *Family Man* is about a crossover of a different color.

never complains, who strips for his hobby at the foot of the bed before servicing him, and who loves him even when he acts like a morose. Slickly directed by Ross Rifkin (*Rush Hour*)—with cynicism disguised as sentiment—this vice-centric in narcissism prioritizes middle-class bonding, thus lets our shimmering hero escape it. Of course, he's willing to give up wealth for love of family, but he doesn't have to. He gets to have the perfect wife and the perfect life, because this is a Christmas movie for the man who has everything.

What Women Want takes a similar tack. Once again a playboy bachelor learns, through a Capricornian twist of fate, to love the little people and become a sensitive, caring soul. This time he's an advertising executive: Hollywood can identify with advertising, which is full of overpaid people perfecting the art of the pitch. And you can imagine a sensitive guy pinching this script with one face: Mel Gibson versus his legs.

For Gibson, *What Women Want* is a make-over movie, an attempt to prove he can be more than an action star. Throwing himself into raucous comedy with alarming gusto, he plays Nick, a much-admired executive who worships Sexism and treats women as big game. Nick's world comes tumbling down when a new creative director (Helen Hunt, again) challenges him to understand female consumerism. In desperation, he spends a drunken night trying out feminine products—perfume, nail polish, hot wax—then nearly electrocutes himself with a hair dryer, thus acquiring a magical ability to read women's minds.

This is a very busy movie. Poor Mel can't decide if he wants to be Woody Allen, Tom Hanks or Gene Kelly. And while he jumps through hoops, his female co-star makes the most of minor op-



Cage (left), Leoni: a financier falls out of the fast lane and into the middle class

a financier who falls out of the fast lane and gets marooned in the middle class. With his usual bull-head tenacity, Nicolas Cage plays Jack, a Wall Street Scrooge fleeing a corporate takeover on Christmas Eve. As he falls asleep in his Manhattan penthouse, a dream transports him to New Jersey, where he's married to Kate (Tina Leno), the college sweet-heart he left 13 years ago. Stripped of his Ferraris, his dream and his job, this master of the universe finds himself in suburban hell—changing diapers, selling tires and bowling badly. But before you can say *It's a Wonderful Life*, he discovers his inner Jimmy Stewart, and comes to appreciate the importance of car kids and a good woman with great breasts.

While extolling family values, *The Family Man* is really about having the perfect wife: a good-natured babe who

parentifies Hunt soldiers through her no-win role as a career woman turned townie dad. Maria Tontini merrily hijacks scenes as a "dirty coffee-shop girl," and as Nick's teenage daughter, Ashley Johnson speaks with understated candor.

What Women Want is one of those bad movies that goes so wrong it's hardly fascinating. Someone should have nipped Gibson from embracing himself. Although the director is a woman—Nancy Meyers, who made *The Parent Trap*—this zero-burle-of-the-same song is never a fair fight. *What Women Want* would be a more fitting title.

Proof of Life stars our Australian bank who is going, Gibson a run for his money in an action headbanger. After defying civility at *Gladiator*, Russell Crowe now plays a contemporary gladiator in the kidnapping-and-rescue game, a

Traffic confirms Steven Soderbergh's status as America's hottest director

Sun's Good Will Hunting (1997)—about mentoring a brain-averse physics prodigy (Forest Whitaker) is a crunky J. D. Salinger type who has spent four decades in seclusion after writing a Pulitzer Prize-winning novel. Jural (Rob Brown) is a black basketball genius with an unguessed gift for writing. As they strike up a cagey relationship, Jural ends up on a collision course with his villainous English teacher (F. Murray Abraham). Although the script takes a predictable arc, the real-life mentor-protégé dynamic between the movie's two stars is compelling. Brown, a 16-year-old who has never acted before, shows remarkable talent. And Connery, comfortably playing his age, has never been more intriguing.

O Brother Where Art Thou offers an oasis of comic relief for those seeking relief from the season's triumph-of-the-humans-spirit dramas. Made by the Coen brothers (Joel, and loosely based on Homer's *Odyssey*, it's part hillbilly musical, part deadpan farce. A dim-bulb trio of convicts go on the run after bolting from a Mississippi chain gang. George Clooney is well cast as Ulysses, a silver-tongued fool who



Zero-Jones! A gritty antihero swears about the war on drugs

a movie star whose "hobby" is underage girls, Sarah Jessica Parker as an actress fighting not to show her breasts, Philip Seymour Hoffman as a besieged screenwriter, and Rebecca Pidgeon as a local sweetheart who becomes his script doctor.

But Marmel's own script is the real star of *Sun and Moon*, with crisp dialogue that riles off one-liners like a string of firecrackers. Only Hoffman's character—seriously struggling to write the script within the script—seems a fully fleshed character. The others defer to purely with the line-readings. The result is a thin, amusing send-up that unfolds like a board game, darning from joke to joke. It's as if Marmel were writing with one hand tied behind his back, casually evincing Hollywood pessimism. But Marmel has a still wicker than much of what passes for comedy in Hollywood.

Chocolat, which takes place in a quaint French village, is a sweet, pretty confection, with storybook characters that rival the figurines under the immaculate direction of Liane Hallström (*The Cider House Rules*). In the tradition of *Babette's Feast* and *Late Winter for Chocolate*, it's about a culinary showdown between asceticism and pleasure, a fairy tale pitting the Roman Catholic Church against the cocoa bean. Vianne (Juliette Binoche) and her young daughter, Anouk (Violette Thibault), are travelers who swoop into a French hamlet in red-riding hood capes and open a fancy chocolaterie. Based on magical recipes of Mayan healings, Vianne's chocolate enchants the villagers, awakening impulses of lust and romance. Meanwhile, the town's righteous bigwig (Alfred Molina) plots with a young priest to shut her down.

Why anyone in France, where food is a religion, would consider chocolate seditions in 1999 is beyond comprehension. But a dose of "magic realism" can mask all manner of implausibility. So, in the spirit of the Camille miracle, we suspend disbelief to indulge in the charms of *Chocolat*. Binoche and Johnny Depp. Depp plays an Irish river rat who moonies his boat in the village, a gentle seducer who sells jewelry and plays Delta blues—the most clean-cut vagabond ever to scandalize a small town. This is an enjoyable movie of merrymaking delights, from the laquer swirl of melted cocoa to the luminous Binoche. Jack Depp adds a benevolent touch of class, Lina Chao a slice of transpenn madison. But taming more of artifice than magic, *Chocolat*—like much of the holiday fare—never quite lives up to the lovely wrapping. **B-**



Traffic (left), *Nelson*, *Glenn*, *Depp* in a dim-bulb trio of convicts on the loose and a clean-cut neighborhood remodeling a small town

leads the other two stooges (John Turturro and Tim Blake Nelson) on a slapstick escapade through the Deep South—from robbing a bank to recording a hit bluesman song.

Like all the Coen's films, *O Brother* is artfully stylized and riddled with allusions. But their best work, notably *Fargo*, is rooted in some kind of emotional reality. Here, the Coens indulge their silly streak—and a tendency to paralyze their characters right out of coherence. Despite infectious music and some bristly wit, *O Brother* feels stilted by caricature.

Sun and Moon is even more cynical. Written and directed by master ornith David Mamet, it's a showbiz satire about a big movie production that arrives at a quaint Vermont town. Mamet has assembled a motley cast—including William H. Macy as a high-handed Hollywood director, Alec Baldwin as

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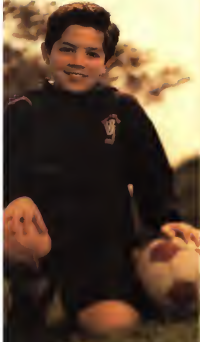
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Books

Future imperfect

No society has ever been without its fortune tellers, and scholars have always known that the most gaudy—economic, political or religious—read is as much about contemporary anxieties as real probabilities. The *History of the Future* (McArthur & Co.) by historian David Wilson is a witty but serious look at 2,000 years of almost entirely wrong predictions. He discusses religious prophecies (17th-century English minister William Sedgwick, who ranked late London clearing the world would end in two weeks, was proven as *Disorderly Sunday* for the summer 15 years of his life), 19th-century Utopians (one bizarre cartoon in all their promised lands no layout), and modern environmentalism. The man, concludes Wilson, will swallow up the Earth in about five billion years. "Until then, though, anything can happen."



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|------|-----------------------|------------------|
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| 2 | THE LAST THING HE SAW | Michael Crichton |
| 3 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 4 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 5 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 6 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 7 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 8 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 9 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 10 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |

New Fiction

- | Rank | Title | Author |
|------|-----------------|--------------|
| 1 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 2 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 3 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
| 4 | THE BURNING MAN | Stephen King |
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Dr. Foth Jr., I presume?

The myth is there are no more worlds to conquer, no more barriers to break. A Scottish missionary disappeared in 1871 while searching for the source of the Nile, moving the *New York Herald* to send journalist Henry Morton Stanley to find him and utter the immortal line: "Dr. Livingstone, I presume?"

The Brits, in preparation for our Queen's coronation, set out to destroy two what no mix. John Hunt mounted a British team to conquer Everest in 1953 and one member, an unknown New Zealand backpacker, Edmund Hillary, made it to the top. In 1954, at Oxford, Roger Bannister broke the first-minute mile.

It seems, in fact, there are still some things to conquer. In 1997, a 35-year-old Vancouverer fell in out to immerse—by bicycle—Marco Polo's famous Silk Road to China. This took months here and the Indians have not since claimed they invented pasta.

The wild and crazy Vancouver boy has just published a book, *On the Trail of Marco Polo: Along the Silk Road by Bicycle* (McArthur & Co., \$24.95) detailing his three-month adventure. It's a fascinating 236 pages and he's still alive and somewhat wiser.

He took his mountain bike to Beijing to meet two older companions, two British teachers, and headed west. George Khan used the Silk Road as he marched from the steppes of Asia, and Marco Polo brought back spices and silk from China, where an alchemist, P. Sheng, invented a machine with movable type made of clay 400 years before Gutenberg.

Our hero, with the usual brands of pouch, set out with *mulatras* pills, altitude sickness medication, water purification filters, first-aid kits, small tent, sleeping bag, stove with fuel canisters, half-dozen water bottles, bike rack, 36 rolls of film, two cameras, tape recorder, a few books, gear cables, bicycle computer complete with *altimeter*—1,400 pills (15 per day for his medical regime). Luggage load came to 125 lb—most, of course, and a lot of it disappeared quickly.

Once on the road, the crazy Canucks love food—"The restaurants with open-rope-like noodles, dough sticks, kabob dishes, rice, gyoza and pork dumplings were a refreshing change from the sweeter deep-fried North-Americanized nuggets I was used to in Vancouver."

"Angebot dives that requested as restaurants and were located in back alleys laced for your business in seven like Riva."

With the Brits, Tim and Tony, the three madmen on mountain bikes are in northern China, just past Mongolia, on the Tula Mikes Desert, just below Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, on the way to Tajikistan. A bridge over a freely given sand, it's roughly the size of Germany. Imagine Sukatchew or Kansas, he writes, stripped of all topsoil and crops.

"You're on your own; alone with the volcano. As Marco Polo, the first acknowledged European to cross the entire Asian continent (illustrated), the desert confers a quiet sense of desolation for those hoping to cross it alive."

Our hero gets along with Tony, but not with Tim. Halfway through the Silk Road the Brits—their travel permits expiring—depart. Our hero is on his own. Frustrated, on one gets the drift through the book, as the exact details of the night with two Swedish blonds and he evokes to find—surprise!—his Visa card is missing.

"The altimeter on my handle bars registered 16,120 feet," he writes. This was "The Roof of the World" where the four greatest mountain ranges in the world converge—the Himalayas, Pamirs, Karakoram and Hindu Kush. It's the globe's highest point, midway on the China-Pakistan border.

He plunged down records Pakistan at speeds reaching more than 70 mph. "If I suddenly leaped too much into a turn, I would overshoot the edge and join Allah in the great afterlife... I could have ridden more slowly, but the downhill was too tempting. Not every day that I got a chance to cycle over a pass like in height to a 1,200-story building." In just under 90 minutes, he had covered 117 km.

He's in a guesthouse in Pakistan, just in time to witness a fight between a Brit who wants to watch the Pakistanis do death coverage on TV while an Asian Indian at the time to a Pakistani. One race in Belgium. He looks up with two Chinese army soldiers who are on vacation.

New heavily bearded and with a bandana looking like a woman, he wanders into the Afghanistan war and narrowly escapes minefields where 400,000 people, mostly children, have been killed by land mines. He is arrested three times in total before reaching New Delhi.

The Silk Road is now mainly a trucking route. One telegram of course sells for \$140 (U.S.) in Afghanistan. Despite longer author's name. Is it Brady Fotheringham?



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